FREE THE 18!

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Roosevelt Stalls Labor's Demand To Modify Little Steel Formula

Roosevelt, Tobin Scheme To Deny Freedom For 18

By Joseph Keller

While two months have passed without a decision from the president on the pardon petition of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists, evidence is accumulating that Roosevelt, Attorney General Biddle and AFL Teamsters czar Daniel J. Tobin are continuing their conspiracy which led to the frameup of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

A series of recent events, involving these leading figures in the prosecution of the 18, indicates that Roosevelt and his fellow conspirators are taking concerted measures to counteract the tremendous tide of protest in labor's ranks against the frameup. After the presentation of the pardon appeals on August 2, Tobin had lunch with the President. His magazine, *The International Teamster*, has intensified its campaign of slander against the imprisoned opponents of his reactionary and dictatorial union policies with scarcely-concealed lynch incitations against the Trotskyists.

WORK TOGETHER

The intimate political relations between Roosevelt and Tobin, which early in the case the American Civil Liberties Union pointed out as one of the motives behind the prosecutions, was reemphasized last week when the President, in accordance with his custom, opened his election campaign by addressing a banquet of AFL Teamster leaders in Washington.

A little over two weeks ago, Attorney General Biddle, who organized the prosecutions and conducted them through his Minnesota prosecutor, Victor Anderson, addressed by invitation the state convention of the Minnesota Federation of Labor. While in Minnesota, he conferred with Anderson. Anderson himself has been lending a hand to Tobin and the Stalinists in their attempts to sabotage support for the 18 by writing letters at their request, itemizing the frameup charges which helped send the 18 to federal prison.

Biddle's appearance on the AFL platform was undoubtedly engineered by Tobin and his agents who have considerable influence in the top circles of the Minnesota labor movement. Under pressure from Tobin this convention adopted a resolution, modelled upon one just passed by the Stalinist-dominated state CIO, repeating the frameup charges

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Decision Held Up On Pardon Appeals For Imprisoned 18

Daniel M. Lyons, U. S. Pardon Attorney, in reply to an inquiry from the Civil Rights Defense Committee, has written to CRDC National Secretary George Novack that the pardon applications of the 18 Minneapolis Labor Case prisoners are "still under consideration." The pardon petitions were presented on August 2 and have been before the President now for two months.

Lyons' letter, dated September 29, stated that "this case is still under consideration, and I am unable at the present time to indicate with any degree of accuracy how soon final action will be taken."

The pardon petitions for the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders, who have been in prison since Dec. 31, 1943 charged with violation of the infamous Smith "Gag" Act, are supported by over 300 labor and civil rights organizations, representing some 3,000,000 members.

In his letter, Lyons gives no reason for the unusual delay in Roosevelt's pardon decision. It is clear, however, that the Minneapolis case presents an embarrassment to Roosevelt in view of the pending presidential election.

The U. S. Supreme Court last December three times refused to consider the appeal of the 18. Now Roosevelt, who set in motion the frameup of the 18, is apparently trying through this unwarranted delay to continue to keep them behind bars in violation of their democratic rights.

The labor movement cannot permit Roosevelt to keep the 18 any longer in prison. The progressive forces within the trade unions and liberal organizations must intensify their demand that

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Allied Leaders Seek To Trick Italian People

By James Cowan

Alarmed by the growing radicalization of the Italian masses, which proceeds ever faster as the conditions of their life become more intolerable, Roosevelt and Churchill have resorted to a transparent trick to deceive the rebellious population of southern Italy into believing that improvements are on the way.

In a joint statement issued Sept. 26, the imperialist statesmen announced that, following the recent Quebec conference, they had given the Italian question consideration and had decided:

1. To hand over to the puppet Bonomi government "an increasing measure of control... subject of course to that Administration's proving that it can maintain law and order and the regular administration of justice. To mark this change the Allied Control Commission will be renamed the 'Allied Commission'."

2. To instruct the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration conference "to declare for the sending of medical aids and other essential supplies to Italy."

3. To take "first steps... toward the reconstruction of an Italian economy... These steps should be taken primarily as military aims to put the full resources of Italy and the Italian people into the struggle to defeat Germany and Japan. For military reasons we should assist the Italians in the restoration of such power systems, their railways, motor transport, roads and other communications as enter into the war situation," etc.

HOLLOW MOCKERY

A more hollow mockery of the desperate Italian people could scarcely be imagined.

To the demand of the Italians for full democratic rights and an opportunity freely to decide their political future in accordance with their own needs and wishes,

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"Holding the Line"

De Gaulle Advances 'Radical' Program To Sidetrack Masses

By Ralph Graham

In a deceitful move, taken with the clear intent of hoodwinking the French workers and diverting them from the road of revolutionary struggle to end the capitalist system, Gen. Charles de Gaulle has "committed himself and his Government to the creation of a new economic system in France — a system of planned economy under the direction of the Government, as he described it."

De Gaulle announced this "new" program in a speech at Lille, the capital of the industrial north of France, on Oct. 1. It followed by only a few days De Gaulle's action in "taking over" the French coal mines to avert a threatened general strike of miners. The Renault automobile factory in Paris was similarly "taken over" by the de Gaulle government.

DE GAULLE DEMAGOGY

De Gaulle's speech at Lille was a characteristic piece of capitalist demagogy. He declaimed against the trusts and asserted that "we cannot longer tolerate those concentrations of interests." A system of "planned economy" was necessary in order to achieve the "fullest use of the resources of the country." For this, in turn, the state "should take over the direction of the great sources of the common wealth and should control certain other activities."

Lest France's unnerved capitalists get the idea that de Gaulle had adopted a revolutionary program for the expropriation of industry, the General hastened to add that his scheme for a "planned economy" definitely did not exclude "the stimulus of just profit and initiative." This means that under de Gaulle there will be no real planned economy. "Just profit and initiative" means the continuance of capitalist private ownership, the continuance of the profit system, the continuance of that competitive capitalist anarchy which makes real planning impossible.

What de Gaulle proposes, in effect, is some sort of temporary government regulation of some of the larger industries, with the system of capitalist ownership left intact. By this means he hopes to deceive the French workers into believing that they now have a government which intends to effect a radical social change in the interests of the masses and at the same time to safeguard the threatened property rights of the possessing classes.

The de Gaulle "plan" is thus a plan to save capitalism. In

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Inside Germany

"In Magdeburg there was trouble among foreign workers two weeks ago," cabled the N. Y. Times correspondent from Stockholm on Sept. 30. "In quelling the disturbances the Gestapo found evidence that the foreigners had staged an insurrection in accord with German fellow-workers. From this incident one can reasonably deduce that Germany has been divided into two camps regardless of the nationality of the residents, namely Nazi and anti-Nazi."

And also into two class camps, that of the capitalist rulers and that of the insurgent working masses.

Auto Union Strikes In Protest Against Ford's Provocation

By Dave Andrews

DETROIT, Sept. 28. — The huge Press Steel building of the Ford Rouge plant, employing 9,000 persons, was shut today when the workers walked out as the result of the company disciplining two committeemen for allegedly using profane language in the presence of women employes.

The falseness of the accusation is manifested by the fact that charges against the committeemen were not preferred until a week and a half after the alleged offense transpired. This obvious frame-up is designed to intimidate the militant union representatives within the gigantic Stalinist-controlled Ford Local. It is in line with the present policy of the Ford Motor Company to promote provocations which can then be used in its drive to weaken, undermine and, if possible, break up the union.

Tired of the inability of the Stalinist leadership to settle their grievances, the workers walked off their jobs in a spontaneous demonstration of solidarity unequalled since the great strike of 1941. Many Stalinist committeemen gave personal support to the strike, walking off their jobs with the workers. Realizing the seriousness of the rebellion within their own ranks a meeting was hurriedly called in the Ford Local and was addressed by the Local President, W. G. Grant, who has been fronting for the Stalinists.

Using all the demagogic tricks

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Byrnes Upholds Wage Freeze As WLB Opens Mock Hearings

General Motors and U. S. Steel Corporation Endorse Government's Wage-Freezing Policy

By R. Bell

The administration, aided by Roosevelt's labor lackeys, is making a political football of the demand by workers for wage increases commensurate with the rise in the cost of living. With the national elections in the offing, there has taken place a series of maneuvers, spiced by a flurry of rumors, designed to create the impression that Roosevelt is favorably considering an upward revision of the wage-freezing Little Steel formula. Two special panels of the War Labor Board have submitted a "fact-finding" report to the WLB sustaining the contention of the CIO and AFL that the cost of living has risen beyond the figure established by the government's Bureau of Labor Statistics. A report by the economists of the OPA establishes that on the basis of their earnings the steel corporations can well afford to grant a wage increase with an increase in the price of steel.

In a number of speeches made before recent conventions of various CIO unions, Philip Murray dropped the "hint" that Roosevelt intends to scrap the Little Steel formula and therefore labor must reaffirm its no-strike pledge and support the candidacy of "their friend" for reelection. AFL President William Green has also let it be known that the White House was favorably disposed toward the granting of a wage increase. In the midst of these optimistic rumors and reports, James F. Byrnes, Roosevelt's War Mobilization Director, more commonly known as the Assistant President, exploded a bombshell in the form of a radio address in which he emphasized that the government must continue to "hold-the-line" on wages "until the dangers of inflation are passed."

According to Byrnes, the "dangers of inflation" would not be passed "until after the defeat of Germany and until total victory is achieved over Japan." In fact, he predicted that "wage controls would remain at home indefinitely." The New York Times, authoritative spokesman for Big Business, lauded Byrnes' statement in an editorial which said: "This is excellent as far as it goes. When it is being widely predicted that the President will smash the Little Steel formula before election day, for the supposed political profit from that act, Mr. Byrnes' statement could not have been better timed." The editorial then makes the pertinent inquiry: "Is Mr. Byrnes speaking authoritatively for the Administration, or is he merely speaking for himself?"

DIVISION OF LABOR

It is extremely improbable that Roosevelt's first assistant would make a public statement on important questions of administration policy without the prior knowledge or consent of his "chief." Past experience has shown the existence of a division of labor between Roosevelt and his first assistant. While on many issues of importance to the labor movement Roosevelt remains silently in the background, Byrnes has come forward as the spokesman of reaction and has used the tremendous powers of his office to put across the program of Big Business. This division of labor has occurred on a whole series of measures involving wage-freezing and price-gouging, cutbacks and reconversion, job-freezing and taxes. Byrnes has consistently advocated policies hostile to labor and these policies have just as consistently been adopted with the support of the administration —while Roosevelt was giving a good imitation of the Sphinx when not openly supporting these anti-labor moves.

After the Byrnes statement had sobered the extravagant optimism of the labor bureaucrats they were called to the White House to "confer" with Roosevelt. The New York Times reports that: "For an hour the President listened to the labor leaders, asked numerous questions, and finally,

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Opposition To Stalinist Rule Grows In UE-CIO

By M. Brown

NEW YORK, Sept. 30.—Opposition to the Stalinist leadership of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America reached its highest pitch in three years at the union's tenth annual convention which ended yesterday after a week's session at the Manhattan Center here.

Although the top officialdom, with its well-oiled machine, used the most bureaucratic and ruthless methods in an attempt to choke off any signs of militancy on the convention floor, the discontent of the rank and file succeeded in breaking through on the anti-labor policies of the War Labor Board and on several organizational questions.

Because of the Stalinist domination, which is continuing its paralyzing stranglehold on the union's apparatus, this convention of the CIO's third largest international union, with a membership of over 700,000, lagged far behind other leading CIO unions which have met in convention this month in discussion of the major issues before the labor movement, particularly the no-strike pledge.

The UE convention still struggled with the question of the speedup incentive pay system, foisted on the union by the Stalinists, and with issues of elementary union democracy. The leadership jammed through one reactionary resolution after another, using the crudest steamroller tactics and parliamentary maneuvers to stifle opposition expression. Nevertheless, fearing to give their sell-out hand away completely and add fuel to the opposition fire, the Stalinists did not dare go through with a projected resolution endorsing a permanent no-strike pledge which had been submitted to the resolutions committee.

NEW FORCES

At previous conventions, the opposition consisted principally of the Philadelphia locals controlled by the union's former president and present CIO National Secretary, James Carey. New forces emerged at this convention from District Four and the New England areas who represented a more militant opposition than the Carey group, which continued to oppose the leadership only on purely organizational questions.

Attacks on the reactionary policies of the Stalinists came, however, from certain Hartford, Pittsfield and Bridgeport, Conn. locals and Ford Instrument Local 425 New York. Local 452, Sunnyside, Long Island, introduced a resolution condemning Harry Bridges, Stalinist head of the CIO Longshoremen's Union, for advocating a permanent no-strike pledge and strikebreaking during the Montgomery Ward walkout. These new developments from the largest districts of the union were significant signs of a growing opposition to the leadership.

The no-strike pledge was shunted into the position of a secondary issue on the convention floor by the Stalinists. Using the most nauseating demagogy and flag-waving, they incited the convention against the handful of courageous delegates who dared to brave boos, insults and slanders and speak against the unconditional no-strike pledge.

Five delegates faced this barrage to vote against the reaffirmation of the pledge after calling for its modification or repeal and attacking the leadership for using the pledge as a cover for surrendering the workers' collective bargaining rights. Delegate Mont of Local 425 spoke for scrapping the pledge outright, while his delegation abstained from voting for reaffirmation because the Stalinist resolution was not sufficiently qualified.

CONDEMN WLB

The real sentiments of the rank and file at the wage-freeze, jobfreeze and company provocations were expressed when the resolutions committee was compelled to bring forth a strongly-worded resolution attacking the anti-labor practices of the War Labor Board. This resolution brought forth expression of the deep resentment

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Reading Stalinists Incite Lynch-Drive

READING, Pa., Sept. 27.—Moving east with their campaign of lynch-incitation and terrorism, which they brought to a head on the Pacific Coast recently by vigilante attacks on Quaker forums in Seattle, Washington, the Stalinists here have issued a virtual lynch call against Socialist Party members.

The Berks County (Reading) Communist Political Association last week issued a leaflet, announcing a speaker on "the slimy role being played in America and in Reading" by the Socialist Party, in which the Stalinists call in effect for physical violence against Socialists. "No fighting member of the European underground would recognize in these 'negotiated peace' Socialists a common ally," howls the leaflet. "They would treat them exactly like they treat the Quislings and traitors who collaborated with the Nazis. *The people of Reading must give them the same treatment.*" (Our emphasis).

This vicious, slanderous appeal is almost identical in content and tone to those put out by the Seattle Stalinists just prior to their organized gang assaults on two Quaker forum meetings, which they broke up by violence several months ago. (See *The Militant*, July 8).

As elsewhere, this lynch campaign is really directed against all labor militants opposed to the betrayal policies of Stalinism. There has been a considerable leftward trend among the Reading workers and there is a strong socialist tradition here.

A number of labor groups, including the local of the AFL International Machinists, have endorsed the SP candidates in the coming local election as an expression of their desire for independent labor political action. At the same time, a group of local union leaders have formed an Independent Labor Party Committee which has attacked Roosevelt's anti-labor program, exposed the treacherous role of the Stalinists and called for the formation of labor's own party. It is this movement which the Stalinists are out to smash through their campaign.

MARITIME UNIONS PRESS DEMAND FOR PAY RAISE

By Frank Lawrence

Recent cuts in bonus rates paid merchant seamen for carrying supplies to the war fronts of the world have resulted in demands for wage increases by all marine unions. The unions have undertaken these negotiations under handicap of the no-strike pledge, and thus deprived of their bargaining power are subject to the wage-freezing policy of the War Labor Board.

Basic wages in the maritime industry are among the lowest paid to any group of organized workers. The wage scale of $82.50 per month for able seamen and marine firemen was established before the war. Emergency increase since that time has brought it up to $100.

UNIONS ASK RAISE

Most contracts in the industry are written to terminate on September 30 of each year. This year every union has sought an increase in the basic scales. Marine Firemen, Sailors Union of the Pacific, and Seafarers' International are unions whose demands are still being negotiated. The Marine Firemen's negotiations have progressed further than any of the others now awaiting settlement. During the course of these negotiations the union has been forced to scale down its demands. The *Marine Firemen Reporter* (Sept. 1) explained this action of the negotiating committee as follows:

"While some firebrands might logically ask, why doesn't the union ask for more, the answer of the negotiating committee is that we did ask for more, we asked for thirty per cent, to be exact, and the arbitrator ruled no smoke on even one dime increase, so this time, the committee figures to keep its feet on the ground, ask for approximately a fifteen dollar per month raise, and argue like hell for it, on the basis of decreased bonuses, increased living costs, and increased overall efficiency of ships machinery calling for constant and

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TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Both the labor and capitalist press have noted that the most significant development of the recent historic CIO United Automobile Workers convention was the emergence of the newly-organized rank - and - file caucus which led a powerful fight against the no-strike pledge and won a referendum on the question after the leadership finally put over a motion for reaffirmation through a tricky maneuver.

Time magazine, Sept. 25, observes: "The rank and file is obviously anxious to get back the right to strike, their strongest bargaining weapon, as soon as possible. And the rank-and-filers at the convention were well organized around the Briggs Detroit Local 212. . .

"The strength of this 'rescindist' movement convinced UAW officials that they had better not try to handle the situation alone. They called in suave, spellbinding CIO President Philip Murray. Before he even mentioned the no-strike pledge, Philip Murray was being loudly booed. . ."

Racine Labor, organ of both the Racine, Wis., AFL Trades and Labor Council and CIO United Automobile Workers District Council 8, reported: "The strength and assertiveness of the rank and file group was the most noticeable event of the convention. They led the fight against all three no-strike resolutions (Addes - Frankensteen - Stalinist majority resolution, Reuther minority, and Addes-Frankensteen-Stalinist-Reuther joint motion) and are committed to the formation of an independent labor party, such as the Michigan Commonwealth Party."

* * *

An "impartial" umpire has handed down a decision in the dismissal case of Nestor Dessy, president of Detroit Chevrolet Gear and Axle Local 235, UAW-CIO, which calls for plenty of explanations from the union's International officials, especially Walter Reuther, UAW vice-president and head of the GM division, and Melvin Bishop, appointed administrator over the local by the International Board.

Dessey with six other workers was fired by General Motors after he was suspended from his elected union post by bureaucratic fiat of the International Board because his local went on strike. He has been offered the "choice" of retiring from all union posts for a year in return for having his discharge changed to a 10-weeks suspension or staying permanently dismissed from his job.

Dessy had just been re-elected without opposition by his local. He declared he would rather lose his job than submit to the outrageous decree of the umpire, whose decision could be interpreted only as an attempt to dictate the choice of leadership to the Local 235 members. Five union committeemen, victimized along with Dessy, were forced to accept a similar decision of the umpire on their cases or have their families face starvation.

It was the arbitrary removal of Dessy from his union office by the union tops which originally emboldened the company to fire him and the other worker militants. What part did Reuther, Bishop and the other UAW officials play in cooking up this move to prevent a militant local union leader, whom they were out to "get," from representing the workers who have re-elected him overwhelmingly?

* * *

John P. Frey, president of the AFL Metal Trades Council, who was a leading party to the no-strike pledge of the union officialdom, must be feeling the "heat" plenty from his membership, to judge by his strong remarks before the WLB last week.

"We will take matters into our own hands and use our own judgement" Frey shouted at the hearing, if the government continues its failure to "honor" the 1942 shipyard wage contract. "We are not here pleading with your board. We are here to tell your board some things, the telling of which is perhaps long overdue."

What Frey told the Board was that the AFL, at Roosevelt's demand, had eliminated from the shipyard agreement a clause providing an increase in wages in proportion to price rises. He pointed out that this contract was subject to review the following year, 1943, with the understanding that if price rises continued, wages would be boosted accordingly. This was not carried out.

"It is an open question," Frey contended, "if the government fails to carry out the provisions of an agreement it has negotiated with labor whether labor is any longer bound by other provisions of such an agreement."

The "other provisions" apparently include the no-strike pledge. However, it remains to be seen whether this is just "loud talk" intended only to appease the workers in his union locals who are threatening to cut loose against the no-strike surrender policy accepted by Frey and the other AFL heads. Contrary to what Frey would imply, the double-cross in 1942 wasn't only on the part of the government.

* * *

Although the pro - Roosevelt "labor statesmen" have been keeping quiet recently on the still-unsettled Montgomery Ward case, we are bringing forth our regular monthly reminder that Sewell Avery has still refused to comply with the numerous WLB orders to sign a contract, including a maintenance of membership clause. Roosevelt, who wields a mighty hard club against militant workers, doesn't appear disposed to force any issues with the nation's No. 1 Open Shopper.

Avery, who's hard at work smashing the union in his Chicago and other establishments, has been doing quite nicely in the profits column. Montgomery Ward recently announced that its net profits for the six months ending July 31 were $7,981,736 as compared with "only" $7,305,193 for the same period in 1943.

* * *

AFL President William Green recently addressed the convention of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters on how "to make American democracy a living reality for American Negroes." Green offered a three-point program to achieve this aim, including a job for everyone, the right to vote and adequate educational opportunities for all without discrimination.

When it came to his own home territory—the Jim Crow "lily-white" practices of several AFL craft internationals—Green offered the usual mealy-mouthed apologetics: "I want you to understand that the American Federation of Labor has no more power to force affiliated unions to act than our Federal Government has to order a Southern state to abolish Jim Crow cars." Roosevelt doesn't act, in order not to antagonize his Southern political machine; Green, in order not to affront the craft union moguls who keep him in office.

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL'

Pamphlet Campaign Forges Ahead

The reports already coming in from the branches show that the quota of 10,000 pamphlets is very likely to be met and surpassed! The early returns, which include only nine branches, have already covered almost one-eighth of the way to our goal. Letters accompanying these returns tell of the interest of Militant readers in the Minneapolis Labor Case, an interest so deep that the set of the four pamphlets on the case is eagerly purchased.

Pioneer Publishers is offering this set of pamphlets for only 25 cents to all the readers of **The Militant** who have trial subscriptions. The set includes James P. Cannon's "Socialism on Trial," and Albert Goldman's "In Defense of Socialism," both transcribed from the court records; "Why We Are in Prison," giving the motives of the Roosevelt administration in persecuting the Trotskyist leaders; and "Who Are the 18 Prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case?", published by the CRDC. A comprehensive study of the Minneapolis case, the pamphlets are also an introduction to the basic principles of the Trotskyist movement.

Newark: During the first two weeks we obtained 13 six-month renewals from the new subscribers, and sold 13 sets of trial pamphlets, in visiting a total of 40 readers. The comments on **The Militant** show how thoroughly the paper is read: Most of the subscribers comment on the frankness and truthfulness of the paper. **One worker said, "This paper should be a part of every worker's weekly reading." A young Negro member of the ILGWU said she liked the news of the unions, and the articles in the paper concerning her people.**

Another young worker said, "Your paper certainly predicted the truth about the Italian workers taking things into their own hands. Look what they're doing to their fascists." He also admired the courage of the paper in speaking its convictions, and mentioned with special enthusiasm the Shop Talks and Kovalesky's column. The readers know all about the 18 Minneapolis prisoners through the columns of **The Militant** and when we show them the trial packet, they tell US the latest news on the case! The paper is doing an excellent job of acquainting our new readers with the ideas of Trotskyism, and they are interested in discussing trade union problems with us, too.

Buffalo: Our callback and pamphlet campaign is moving like clockwork, and by convention time we will have it pretty much wound up. I think we will reach 400 sales!

Youngstown: We visited six new readers, securing 2 renewals of the subscriptions. We have also sold 20 pamphlets so far!

Cleveland: The callback work we have done has been very inspiring. We have sold pamphlet sets to over 50 percent of the subscribers we visited, and have been told repeatedly of the favorable reception **The Militant** gets when these workers carry their copies into the factory.

San Francisco: Sunday we obtained two renewal subscriptions to **The Militant** and sold four sets of the Trial Pamphlets. **One new reader, who had given to friends the four introductory sub cards you mailed, told me that he has given away almost every back issue of the paper to his fellow workers at the shipyard. He knows it is a custom to give out a paper when a sub is sold, so he took some of his back issues and presented them to the trial subscribers he secured.**

New York: The New York Local has sold 90 six-month and one-year subscriptions to **The Militant** thus far, in visiting the subscribers, and has also sold them a total of 540 Trial pamphlets. The comrades are finding it easy to sell the sets of pamphlets to the readers of the paper by explaining that the pamphlets will give them a fuller understanding of **The Militant** and the ideas it represents. The reactions of the new readers to **The Militant** is a good barometer of its effectiveness. One reader said he had only one complaint; he never gets the paper until two to four days after it is delivered. It seems that some neighbor takes it out of the mailbox, reads it, and then returns it to the mailbox for the subscriber to read!

The comrades who secured four renewals and sold four sets of pamphlets in four visits one evening, have sent in their report: "Our score for the evening was 100 percent—inspiring and gratifying for both of us! At our very first address a group of workers, one older Negro worker and three white youths, were playing cards; a much-worn and read Militant was spread out on the table. Everybody in the room read the paper, and it was no trouble at all to sell a renewal there! Then the four men chipped in, to pay for the set of trial pamphlets."

MilwaukeeBranch Marks Opening Of New Headquarters

MILWAUKEE, Oct. 2. — The Milwaukee Branch of the Socialist Workers Party held a housewarming party on Sunday, October 1st. The new headquarters, marking the expansion of Trotskyism in Milwaukee, was jammed full. The group responded enthusiastically to the speech of Jack O'Connell, the City Organizer, who exposed the capitalist character of the Democratic and Republican parties and pointed out the need for labor to organize its own party.

The hit of the evening was a medicine show, complete with magic tricks, sleight of hand, and sale of "Dr. N.A.M.'s Enterprise." This patent medicine was composed of 50% greed, 25% hypocrisy, 10% cruelty, 10% indifference, and 5% opium. Refreshments and dancing completed the celebration.

SCOREBOARD

BRANCH	QUOTA	SOLD
Akron	70	0
Allentown	40	0
Bayonne	180	0
Boston	230	0
Buffalo	400	228
Chicago	700	76
Cleveland	200	36
Detroit	1000	0
Flint	10	0
Los Angeles	1500	144
Milwaukee	80	28
Minneapolis	330	96
Newark	700	52
New Haven	40	0
New York	2800	540
Philadelphia	80	12
Pittsburgh	10	0
Quakertown	10	0
Reading	90	0
Rochester	140	0
San Francisco	350	92
San Diego	80	0
Seattle	500	0
St. Louis	10	0
St. Paul	140	56
Texas	30	0
Toledo	160	0
Youngstown	120	20
Total	10,000	1380

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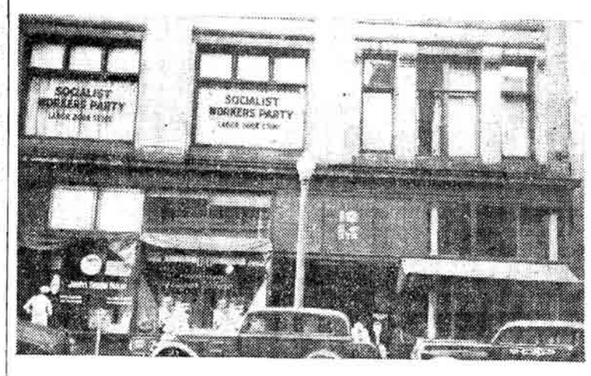

Minneapolis SWP In New Headquarters

By Barbara Bruce

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 19.—A host of comrades, friends and well-wishers attended the open house held by the Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party in celebration of the opening of the new party headquarters in this city on September 16.

Situated in the heart of the downtown district, the new location of the Minneapolis headquarters at 10 South Fourth Street is more accessible to Minneapolis workers. This has been borne out by the noticeable increase in the number of visitors to the headquarters and the greater volume of books, magazines and papers sold in the Labor Book Store which has its offices in the same suite of rooms. Not a small part in attracting new friends to the headquarters is played by the two-foot-high lettering on the second floor windows.

An attractive private entrance and lobby is a feature of the new headquarters. An open staircase leads up to the second floor where the Minneapolis branch has a suite of five large rooms, all connected by a common hall. The office is situated immediately at the head of the stairs, making it convenient both for visitors and for party workers who are on duty. This room is very trim with ivory-painted walls, dark-brown linoleum covered floor and nearly ceiling-high windows which afford lots of light.

Next to the office and to the left is the committee room which also serves for card-playing and informal conversation on social occasions. To the right of the office is the Labor Book Store, a spacious room with bookcases and a large literature display stand flanking two walls. A reading table holds recent files of many labor, political and Negro papers and periodicals. Comfortable chairs invite the visitor to stay and read.

The meeting hall next to the book store has a seating capacity of from 50 to 75 people. Two six-foot, hand drawn and colored maps of the two hemispheres are hung on either side at the front of the hall. These maps are the work of Karl Kuehn, one of the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis case.

On the far left of the suite and at the rear of the building is the kitchen and dining room. Much devoted labor has gone into the remodeling of this room. Roomy cupboards, built in by carpenter comrades, cover one wall all the way up to the ceiling. These are camouflaged with neat-looking green and white striped curtains. At one end of the room is the sink, porcelain work table, range, ice box, dining table and service bar from which lunches and dinners are served during forums and social affairs. The other end of the room opens onto the common hall, and here are small tables for those who participate in party festivities.

When Minneapolis held its open house, there was not a single visitor who was unimpressed by the layout of rooms and the attractiveness of the headquarters.

The Minneapolis Branch is hoping to have the headquarters completely decorated in time for a welcome home for the comrades imprisoned at Sandstone, Alderson and Danbury. They want these comrades to see that the branch can not only keep up the tradition of a beautiful headquarters but can improve upon it.

Decision Held Up On Pardon Appeals For Imprisoned 18

(Continued from page 1)

the President render an immediate and favorable decision in this case.

BOSTON, Sept. 25—A conference of Jewish workers' organizations in the Boston region, called by the Boston Civil Rights Defense Committee with the endorsement of the District Committee of the Workmen's Circle, passed a resolution demanding presidential pardon for the 18 victims of the Smith "Gag" Act in the Minneapolis Labor Case and voted to set up a permanent committee to work among Jewish and nonsectarian fraternal and labor organizations for the liberation of the leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Truck Drivers Local 544-CIO.

The Conference, held Sept. 24 at the Workmen's Circle Headquarters, Dorchester, Mass., was attended by delegates from the District Committee of the Workmen's Circle, Workmen's Circle Branches, 666, 705, 736, 902, 904, 918, 927, 947, Ladies Auxiliary Branches 707 and 718, the Socialist Verband of Lynn, and the Free Society Group.

The Conference was addressed by George Novack, National Secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee and Sylvia Bleeker of the GRDC National Office. Louis Frank, Director of the Workmen's Circle in Massachusetts, explained that the Executive Board went on record in support of this case because the rights and liberties of all labor organizations were at stake. Fraternal greetings to the conference were sent by Leon Arkin, Boston Manager of the Jewish Daily Forward.

H. Victorsen of Workmen's Circle 705, chairman of the conference, recalled the tradition of his organization in supporting movements to free labor prisoners. "In the same spirit with which we fought to free Debs, Mooney and Billings, Sacco and Vanzetti," he said, "we shall work actively until these brothers are freed. We are setting up a local committee in conjunction with the C.R.D.C. to enlist the aid of other organizations for this case. Just as we defend the right to express our ideas, we shall work to restore the rights of these 18 trade unionists and socialists."

Auto Union Strikes In Protest Against Ford's Provocation

(Continued from page 1)

the Stalinists taught him, Grant harangued the workers for nearly an hour. He implied that such action as they had taken helped only Hitler. He stated that Roosevelt's re-election was jeopardized by strikes, hinting that the workers bit the hand that fed them. Wrapping himself in the flag, he carefully refrained from discussing the issues which had caused the walkout. He ended this exhibition of verbal acrobatics by ordering the workers to return to their jobs tomorrow or forfeit any representation the union might give them in the event of reprisals on the part of the company.

Remembering Grant's well-known practice of calling in the FBI to investigate the workers whenever his policies are questioned, as happened recently in the case of several maintenance workers, the workers left the local meeting in an orderly manner to return to work tomorrow. Much bitterness has been engendered by the sell out policies of the Stalinist hatchetmen in charge of the Ford Local. The great majority of workers in the building, as well as in the plant at large, are no longer content to sit idly by and watch the Stalinists sell out their union to the Ford Motor Company.

This is merely the opening gun of a struggle on the part of the workers to regain control of their union and to resist the provocations of the Ford Motor Company. Many interesting developments may be expected within Ford Local 600 in the immediate future.

NEW YORK SWP CONVENTION MAPS PROGRAM OF EXPANSION

NEW YORK CITY—**The New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party held its City Convention on Sunday, Sept. 10, with 21 delegates, 6 alternates, and fraternal delegates from New York, Bayonne, and Newark participating in the proceedings.**

An inspiring political report by Acting National Secretary M. Stein, surveying recent developments in Italy and the formation there of an active Trotskyist organization, opened the morning session.

The second session, devoted to organizational reports, reviewed the activities of the New York Local during the preceding eighteen months, and laid general perspectives for work in the coming period. Particular emphasis was given to the campaign in which over 2,000 new subscribers to *The Militant* were secured by the comrades this Spring. Speakers pointed out the changing character of New York work, as typified by the successful sub campaign. These 2,000 new readers will be revisited during the next two months, with a resulting increase in the sale of literature and attendance at forums, open meetings and Marxist basic training classes.

The splendid work done on behalf of the imprisoned Trotskyist and CIO leaders by the N. Y. Civil Rights Defense Committee, was disclosed in detail by comrades active in that work. Local unions, including the United Auto Workers-CIO, Steel Workers-CIO and International Ladies' Garment Workers-AFL, and many other unions have recently added their support to the Minneapolis Labor case, while hundreds of workers in Manhattan, Queens, and Brooklyn have signed petitions for the release of the 18. Over 17,000 pieces of CRDC literature and 8,600 copies of "Who Are The 18 Prisoners In The Minneapolis Labor Case" were distributed at plant gates and union meetings in the metropolitan area.

Educational work, trade union work, literature distributions, the sale of pamphlets and books, social functions, were reviewed and plans for the expansion of all aspects of party activity were discussed. Particularly interesting was the report on the Socialist Youth Group, which has developed since the last city convention. Its earnest young members, all of high-school age, are studying Marxism, conducting their own educationals, and are aiding in organizational work.

The election of a new City Committee closed the agenda of the evening session.

Understanding the significance of the UAW Convention and its decision to put the no-strike pledge to a referendum of the membership, our agent in Chicago ordered 10,000 additional copies of **The Militant** which carried an analysis of the Convention proceedings for wide distribution in that area. "Complete plans were laid to distribute these 10,000 copies to four auto plants. All comrades have been assigned . . . Could you please send in advance 800 copies of this issue. We need it for an important union distribution on Sunday."

Chicago is also expanding its regular **Militant** distribution: "The literature committee recommended to the branch that the bundle order of **The Militant** be increased by 300 copies per week. This was unanimously accepted. We are going to use the extra 300 per week to cover two union meetings per month and to increase the number of papers we distribute at our regular plant distributions."

* * *

The following comments made by UAW workers were sent in by our Detroit agent:

"At an auto plant distribution several people commented on the article in The Militant, **'UAW Militants Stage Revolt Against The Unconditional No - Strike Pledge,' as being the kind of an article that is necessary for the working people. Also they asked if the paper would have an article after the convention. When I asked why, the answer was that they wanted to read the truth about the proceedings and not the capitalist press release, that in The Militant they have found the best analysis of any event. This plant has been getting the paper for the past two months and wait for it every week.**

"At another plant the workers took the paper very well. A discharged service man stood there and gave our distributors a very good review of the soldiers' reaction to the war. He even wanted to help pass the papers out and told everyone that they should take the paper."

* * *

Our Philadelphia agent requested 700 additional copies of **The Militant** to be distributed at the CIO International Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers convention in Atlantic City. In the same letter our agent writes: "Enclosed is a sub given to me by a shipyard worker after he received **The Militant** at a distribution."

The branches have made the sale of 3-month introductory subscriptions an integral part of their literature activity, according to reports from our agents.

Youngstown: **"We have been distributing** The Militant **for several weeks in working class neighborhoods to advertise our newsstands. We decided to use these distributions to get more subs, so we divided our branch into five teams, each team to distribute for three weeks and then to call back for subs. One of the teams has already gone back for subs and they got six 3-month subs in about 1½ hours. We are all out of sub cards so please send us 25 by return mail."**

Los Angeles: "We want to give our San Pedro branch a real contact list. One thousand subscribers would be what would do the trick. They already have about 300, so we're going to go out and help them get the rest. Plans were made just yesterday to go out this Sunday."

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Background Of The Revolutionary Situation In France

By Frank Lawrence

Events in France today, where a rapidly reviving working-class is moving toward the battle-lines of the socialist revolution, are testimony both to the explosive state of class relations and the unquenchable revolutionary tradition of the French workers. The movement of the workers may still be rather halting, but its general direction is unmistakable. The establishment of workers' committees, which have taken charge of many large industrial enterprises in the Paris area, is the clearest indication of the revolutionary trend.

In embarking once more on the road of struggle, the French workers are not starting de novo, from the beginning. Their present struggles are a continuation of the great revolutionary upsurge which began with the anti-fascist general strike of February 12, 1934 and the great sit-ins and strikes of 1936-38.

These events were the climactic points in a continuing crisis of French capitalism. The workers sought a solution on the field of revolutionary battle, but were sidetracked and betrayed by their "Socialist" and Stalinist leaders, who far from desiring the overthrow of capitalism, were anxious to preserve it. These leaders collaborated with the capitalists and brought the workers into political submission to their class enemies.

OUTBREAK OF WAR

The outbreak of war in 1939, itself one of the consequences of this betrayal, interrupted the revolutionary development in France. The subsequent Nazi occupation drove the labor movement underground and prevented the workers from profiting in renewed struggle by the hard-won experiences of the preceding period. Today the struggle is being renewed.

The general strike of February 12, 1934 was a dramatic confirmation of the fact that the only progressive force in France, as in all other countries, is the working-class. Fascists organized in the Croix de Feu and the Camelots du Roi had marched on the Chamber of Deputies in an attempt at a Hitler-like coup d'etat. The government of Pierre Laval, ruling in the name of a capitalist class which was secretly backing the fascist gangsters, hastily capitulated before this show of force. **Thereby Laval prepared his later capitulation to the German fascists. But the workers, for whom fascism was a life and death question, appeared on the streets to give battle to the fascists and drove them back into their hiding places. Supplementing this action, they proclaimed a general strike in order to paralyze the arm of reaction.**

In the shadow of a virtual civil war which plainly posed fascism or the socialist revolution as the sole alternatives, Laval resigned to make way for the Bonapartist police-military dictatorships of Doumergue and Flandin. Ruling by decree, these governments attempted to circumscribe the activity of the workers and prevent a revolutionary solution of the crisis that was plaguing society. Answering attempts by the fascists to seize power, they struck blows at the workers' movement, which was proving itself the only real barrier against fascism.

The forces of fascism grew. They were entrenched in the army staff, in the police, and in the government bureaus. A year after the attempted fascist coup, another coup was attempted. Again the workers came out on the streets to give battle. Again the fascist thugs were driven back to their holes.

Under conditions of continuing crisis the Doumergue and Flandin governments fell in quick order. Laval formed another short-lived government. Then came the regime of Sarraut. Unable to solve the crisis of French capitalism or restore even a semblance of social equilibrium, they passed into limbo as quickly as their predecessors.

Then came the 1936 elections. Testifying to the mounting revolutionary mood of the masses, the "Socialist" and Stalinist parties scored spectacular electoral successes. But neither of these parties had any intention of leading the workers in revolution against capitalism. They combined with the corrupt Radical Socialist Party, a party of the capitalists, to save capitalism — under the pretext that fascism could only be defeated by a Popular Front which would unite all the classes — including the capitalists who were financing the fascists! — in "defense of democracy."

The workers, looking for a radical solution to their problems, were disoriented and confused by this policy of class collaboration, but their will to struggle for a better life was unimpaired, for capitalism with its never-ending oppression and hunger remained.

1936 ELECTIONS

For the workers, the victories in the 1936 elections were a signal for revolutionary action. In Paris and throughout the country thousands upon thousands of workers, especially in the heavy industries, staged their famous sit-in strikes, thus revealing an entirely new weapon of working-class struggle. The Red Flag of socialism flew from the mast-heads of factories as the workers took control. The French revolution had begun.

Panic-stricken by this great wave of insurrectionary action, the "Socialist" and Stalinist leaders did all they could to dampen the struggle, confine and hamstring it, bring the workers back under the discipline of their exploiters. By making a few minor concessions to the rebellious workers, the Popular Front government of Blum induced them to end the sit-ins. **Capitalism, devoid of any resources of its own, was saved by the misleaders and betrayers of the working-class. But the crisis which produced the sit-ins remained in all its urgency. On the ensuing wave of reaction the Blum government fell to make way for the ministry of Deladier and later the ministry of Reynaud.**

Daladier, ruling by decree for the French capitalists, revoked the concessions Blum had been obliged to make to the workers in 1936. Another wave of workers' struggle rapidly developed. July, 1938 saw a fresh strike upsurge. But the workers, despite their great will to battle, were again sidetracked by the "Socialist" and Stalinist misleaaders.

Today, the French workers take up their struggle again, but under different conditions, and with the precious experiences of the pre-war years. Numbers have learned that the "Socialist" and Stalinist policy of cooperating with the capitalists and their parties, on the pretext that the Popular Front is the only way to fight and vanquish fascism, prepared the way for Hitler's triumph over France. They saw the capitalists and the capitalist politicians betray France to the Nazis. They have seen these same people in active collaboration with the Nazis for three long years. They know that a society of peace and plenty can be attained only by ending the corrupt and oppressive capitalist system.

The class struggle in France thus unfolds on an incomparably higher plane than the great struggles of 1934 and 1936-38. Turning their backs on the "Socialist" and Stalinist traitors, the advanced workers will rally to the clean banner of the socialist revolution, the banner of Trotskyism. In the fire of struggle they will build the party that will organize their socialist victory.

French Partisans Disarm Nazi

Working men and women alike rose up to drive the Nazis from Paris. The photograph above, taken during the uprising, shows a young woman disarming a wounded Nazi soldier, and handing his gun to a Partisan fighter who runs up to receive it.

Stalinist Leaders Meet Opposition At UE Convention

(Continued from page 1)

of the workers and was carried overwhelmingly by the convention.

Opposition to the leadership reached its height on organizational questions. The climax occured on Wednesday morning when the leaders sought to ram through a proposal for increasing the pay of international organizers from $70 to $80 per week. This immediately threw the convention into an uproar. Delegates from all major UE districts rose to voice sharp objections. Although only a very feeble vote of concurrence was voiced, President Fitzgerald, a reactionary tool of the Stalinists, prevented a roll-call vote by arbitrarily adjourning the session.

Such opposition as the Stalinists met on policy questions centered mainly on the issues of the 35-hour week and incentive pay. Delegates from Local 425 and several New England locals, who were joined by the Carey elements, opposed the leadership's position. Mont, who attempted to give a minority report favoring the 35-hour week, was simply halted in the middle of his remarks by Fitzgerald, the chairman, on a parliamentary technicality. Stansky, of Local 425, succeeded however in completing a minority report favoring the Ford Instrument local's resolution against incentive pay. Fitzgerald, while curbing opposition speakers within the five minute speaking limits of the convention rules, permitted the Stalinist leaders, like Matles, extended time. The delegates were finally given only the opportunity to vote for or against the Stalinist proposal for a "'post-war' program" of complete capitulation to the bosses.

In the election of officers, the opposition, as a test-vote of its influence, ran an obscure candidate, Martin J. Hogan, against Fitzgerald for the presidency. Although he ran on no program, Hogan mustered the surprisingly large support of approximately one-fourth of the votes cast. The chief Stalinists, Emspak and Matles, Secretary-Treasurer and Director of Organization respectively, were permitted to run for re-election unopposed.

There were clear signs at this convention that the UE rank and file are beginning to rise up against the Stalinist bureaucrats seeking to chain the union to the government agencies and the corporations. But, although the Stalinist leadership was shaken, the convention proceedings made it clear that to win out against the reactionary Stalinist policies, the opposition must fight for a principled militant program. That program must be based on the three main issues before the labor movement today: scrap the no-strike pledge; withdrawn the labor members from the WLB; end company unionism in politics by building an independent labor party.

Union Wage Demand Is Stalled By Roosevelt

(Continued from page 1)

after the committee had felt that it had completely summarized its viewpoint, bade them adieu in his usual friendly manner." This bit of stage play was followed by the announcement that Roosevelt refused to make any promises or commitments to revise the Little Steel wage-freezing formula. The "rumors" circulated by Murray and Green of an impending wage increase were politely scotched in the President's "usual friendly manner."

Roosevelt permitted Murray and Company to circulate this rumor in order to stem the rising tide of resistance to the unconditional no-strike pledge at the CIO conventions and then quickly repudiated it when he saw danger of sowing illusions in the minds of the workers who have been led to expect an early and favorable decision upsetting the wage-freeze. The reaction of the labor flunkeys was typical of their spineless subservience to the demagogue in the White House. In a statement made after the White House conference, William Green and Philip Murray "said that they had not asked the President to make any commitments, feeling that it was improper to do so, but had laid their case before him."

TRAINED PUPPETS

While the labor skates consider it "improper" to ask the President to make a commitment on wage policy, they do not feel at all reticent about committing labor to the unconditional political support of Roosevelt, the candidate of the Wall Street controlled Democratic party. According to William Green, the President "took the view. . . that the wage matter was before the NWLB and that he could not take any action until the board had finished its work." **On a previous occasion, (during the time when Congress was considering the extension of the Wage Stabilization Act,) in response to the demands of the CIO and AFL for a wage revision, Roosevelt "took the view" that "wage stabilization was a matter for Congress and not the Chief Executive!" Roosevelt varies his tune according to time and circumstance with the positive assurance that the well-trained labor puppets will acquiesce in his deception.**

Meanwhile the War Labor Board is staging a farcical "public hearing" on the demand for a revision of the Little Steel formula, based on the "fact-finding" report of its special panels, supplemented by additional testimony from labor and industry. The WLB has no authority to "decide" the issue but can only make a "recommendation" to the President. Under a series of Presidential decrees the WLB has been stripped of its authority to make independent decisions and has been converted into an enforcement agency to police the unions and administer the wage-freeze. In his testimony before the WLB, George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the AFL, protested this development when he stigmatized the wage-freeze as a flagrant violation of the agreement between labor, industry and the Government, made on December 23, 1941, which provided that all disputes were to be settled "by democratic methods through a tripartite labor board."

Meany declared that the government's present wage policy constituted a "fraud on the nation's workers." It was this monstrous "fraud on the nation's workers" which Roosevelt hailed as a boon to the "masses" in his first political speech of the election campaign delivered at a meeting of the AFL Teamsters Union. "You and I know," said Roosevelt, "that the present policies on wages and prices were conceived to serve the needs of the great masses of the people." To Roosevelt's contention that his wage policies serve the needs of the masses the workers will respond by echoing the words of Meany who aptly characterized these policies as a "fraud" perpetrated on the American working class.

AIDS CORPORATIONS

The most ardent supporters of Roosevelt's wage policies, setting aside the Stalinists, are the "dollar patriots" who have coined fabulous profits out of the administration's war program of unlimited profits and frozen wages. Speaking before the WLB, James A. Stephens, vice-chairman of the United States Steel Corporation, maintained that the steel tycoons "were defending the Government's wage stabilization policy by opposing any change in the Little Steel formula." A prepared statement read to the WLB by H. W. Anderson, vice-president in charge of personnel of General Motors, declared that it was the "considered judgment" of the corporation, "that there should be no change in the established wage stabiiization policy at this time." **If he were telling the truth, Roosevelt should have said "You and I know" that "the present policies on wages and prices were conceived to serve the needs" of U. S. Steel, General Motors and other such Wall Street corporations.**

The demands of the unions for wage increases have been kicked around by Roosevelt-Byrnes and the WLB for months on end. The WLB is now stalling along with the object of indefinitely delaying any decision. Neither Roosevelt nor Dewey have found it "proper" to make any specific commitments on the wage question. The labor flunkeys have aided in this run-around by covering up the responsibility of Roosevelt for maintaining the wage freeze and in sowing illusions among the workers that "labor's friend" in the White House will surely grant a bountiful wage increase—if not before, then after, he is elected.

If the administration is compelled to grant a wage increase it will be entirely due to the mounting resistance in labor's ranks to Roosevelt's "wage stabilization" fraud. In view of the drastic reduction in "take home wages" due to cutbacks, downgrading and plant shutdowns, a meagre increase based on the demand of the labor lackeys for a "modification" of the Little Steel formula, will be hopelessly inadequate. In order to smash the Little Steel wage-freezing formula and win wage concessions at all commensurate with the rise in the cost of living, the unions must first regain their independence of action. They can do so only by rescinding the unconditional no-strike pledge and withdrawing their members from the wage-freezing, strikebreaking War Labor Board.

DEMANDS FOR PAY INCREASES RAISED BY MARITIME UNIONS

(Continued from page 1)

watchful attention by skilled engineroom personnel."

Such a 15 percent increase would bring the basic wages of wipers, firemen and oilers up to $100, $115, and $125 per month respectively.

Although wage demands made by the Sailors Union, which represents unlicensed deck personnel on the Pacific coast, and the Seafarers International, AFL affiliate on the east coast representing all departments (deck, engine, and stewards), have not been made public, they are substantially higher than those of the Marine Firemen's quoted above. However, these negotiations now occur against a background of recently established wage scales agreed to by the Stalinist-dominated CIO National Maritime Union, largest organization in the industry.

This union recently secured what was termed a "wage increase" by the War Labor Board but which actually did not change the amount of wages seamen receive. The ruling of the War Labor Board simply made the $17.50 "emergency" increase part of the basic wage. Thus an able seaman's salary remains $100 per month.

WLB RULINGS

The run-around all unions receive from the War Labor Board is typified by its ruling in the case of the NMU demands. Joseph Curran in the PILOT (Sept. 22) passes on to members of his union advice he gets from these government boards. He says:

"What are the reasons that we have been unable to secure wage increases up to the present time? One reason of course is that the War Labor Board, in agreeing with us to make the $17.50 a part of the permanent wages, pointed out that it was a wage increase. They could not consider two demands for a wage increase for the seamen at the same time, they stated. This made our position difficult, although we could not agree with this argument. The $17.50 temporary wage increase had been secured, actually, before the war started. Still, based upon the principles adopted by the War Labor Board, we could not get any more wage increases, and they recommended that we go back to the operators, and in line with our agreement with them open further discussions on wage increases. This we have done."

In the present negotiations most unions have agreed to submit only the question of wages to the War Labor Board. They avoid opening the working rules because, having surrendered the right to strike, they have no real bargaining weapon and would be helpless in the face of an inevitable government - shipowner offensive. Evidence that the WLB would take advantage of the unions' working rules is shown in the recent MMP, NMU and MEBA cases. Here the unions rashly opened the entire contract only to be cut down with losses rather than to achieve the "moderate" gains they had hoped for.

CUT DOWN CONDITIONS

The conditions of work, defined in the main body of union contracts, are conditions won in the 1934 and 1936-37 maritime strikes. They are enforced through union control of the hiring hall. When these clauses were opened for arbitration the War Labor Board took the occasion to strike out certain holidays enjoyed by engineers and mates, and for several years specified in their agreements. Similarly with the NMU agreement. The Board ruled out payment of overtime on Saturday afternoons, Sundays, and holidays on ships at island outports and anchorages. This has long been collected by seamen under the terms of their old contracts before the WLB started tampering with them. At the end of a long trip it is these clauses that make the difference between a good pay-off and a bad one. Thus the strategy of the unions now negotiating is "leave the working conditions alone lest we wind up with less . . . "

The long and futile process of attempting to negotiate without bargaining weapons is illustrated by the present status of the Firemen's demands. After weeks of proposals and counter proposals between the so-called "shipowners" and the union the case has finally been prepared for referral to the War Labor Board.

The "owners" in this industry are more parasitical than in any other. The industry has been built up entirely at the expense of government funds. The government loads the ships and determines their destination. It pays all wages. The only function of these "owners" in the negotiations for higher wages is to scale down the demands of the unions and prepare the case for the War Labor Board.

What can be expected from the Board is indicated by the Firemen's *Reporter* (Sept. 15), which says that the negotiating committee has decided to "proceed posthaste with the War Labor Board on all the wage, overtime, longshore cargo rate, standby rate, and such problems, and see if we can stir that august body to a fast decision. If the Board has to consider our entire agreement, the case will be up before them for years . . . "

De Gaulle Seeks To Forestall Revolution By False Promises

(Continued from page 1)

"taking over" the coal mines and the Renault plant it is precisely this plan that is being pursued. Both the French capitalists and the Allied "liberators" fear the French workingclass. As the N. Y. Times reported, "the Government's assumption of control of the mines had probably prevented a strike that both the French and the Allies' authorities had feared."

REVOLUTIONARY MOOD

The revolutionary temper of the French workers is attested in almost every press dispatch on the internal condition of France. "There is a revolutionary change in the air all over France," reports a N.Y. Times correspondent "but nowhere is it more noticeable than in liberated Paris, with its newspapers all clamoring for economic as well as political freedom and its walls plastered with the posters of the parties of the Left. . . If the press is a reliable guide to the political temper of Paris and of France, then the people will tolerate a return neither of the old leaders nor the old ways which contributed so greatly to the disaster that overtook the nation in 1940."

According to this correspondent, there are "two potential governments in France—that of the Resistance and that of General de Gaulle," and had de Gaulle been less "tactful" there might already have been "a bitter and bloody conflict which would have forced Allied intervention. But both groups realized the need for unity, and instead of a struggle for power there was a union of forces."

In this brief quotation is contained the whole essence of the political situation in France. Having booted the Nazi oppressors out of their country, the working masses were ready to continue the struggle. They wanted to vanquish and dispossess the French capitalist class which had cooperated with the Nazis, and to take over power.

Robert D. Murphy (above), newly appointed political adviser to General Eisenhower and the occupation forces destined to police Berlin, made his reputation as diplomatic representative of the State Department in Algiers. There he backed Darlan and Giraud—and gave a good indication of the brand of "anti-fascism" he will attempt to carry into Germany for the AMG.

But the Stalinist and "Socialist" leaders, instead of leading the masses in struggle, sought 'unity' with the capitalists and joined in a "coalition" with them through de Caulle's Consultative Assembly. They strove and are still striving to damp down the revolutionary ardor of the masses and divert them from the road of struggle for a new socialist society.

The treacherous conciliationist role of the Stalinists was stated by Benoit Frachon, Stalinist Secretary of the General Federation of Labor, in an interview with United Press in Paris on Sept. 30. He denied that the Stalinists intended to "take advantage of the situation and Sovietize or socialize enterprises," adding that the Communist Party is pledged to support the de Gaulle regime until the elections—which have been indefinitely postponed.

All they wanted, this Stalinist leader declared, was "confiscation of the factories of all employers who collaborated with the enemy." But since the entire capitalist class in France, to one degree or another, collaborated with the Nazis, it is not difficult to see that the Stalinist program of confiscation is in effect a program of no confiscation. Making confiscation dependent upon proof of collaboration is the sleight-of-hand trick by which the Stalinists seek to restrain the masses from carrying through a thoroughgoing program for the liquidation of capitalism.

That the Stalinists, the "Socialists" and de Gaulle are obliged to drape their reactionary aims with a pseudo-radical program, to inveigh against the big capitalist trusts, and to appear before the masses as advocates of a "new" social order, with "planned economy" and all the rest, is testimony to the seething revolutionary ferment.

This ferment became manifest when more than a million workers in Paris, aided by detachments of the FFI, rose up against the Nazis and seized the capital in advance of Allied occupation. Alarmed by this display of proletarian initiative, the political representatives of the French capitalist class in the Council of Resistance sought to block the mass movement, cheat the people out of their victory, and render Paris safe for the capitalist exploiters.

The story of this piece of trickery was told in a Paris dispatch to the N. Y. Times on Sept. 29. In the midst of the mass uprising against the Nazis in the French capital, a "mysterious truce" was arranged with the Germans in what an FFI writer asserts was an effort to "ruin the Parisian insurrection." The truce was arranged by the present Minister of Labor, Alexander Parodi, who was then de Gaulle's representative in the Council of Resistance, Charles Luizet, who represented de Gaulle as Prefect of Police, and M. Chaband, who was de Caulle's emissary in the Committee of Military Action of the Council of Resistance.

The purpose of the truce, the FFI writer discloses, was to "prevent an uprising of the masses" and was inspired by fear that Paris would fall into the hands of the workers. By means of the truce, the masses were restrained long enough to enable the troops of de Gaulle and the Allies to reach Paris and clamp down military rule.

The Nazis, however, did not honor the truce (they "never for a minute stopped firing") and its effect was "to increase French losses and reduce German losses." But Paris was saved from the "mob," that is, from the French workers—for the time being!

Yes, but only for the time being! Harold Callender of the N. Y. Times reported from Paris Sept. 30: "This revolutionary mood . . . is real and will persist." The armed forces of the FFI remain. They refuse to disband. They will not relinquish their arms. The workers have established control over many factories. Here, says Callender, "is a formidable mass of youths toughened by guerrilla life and apparently permeated not only by revolutionary habits but by revolutionary ideas."

Raymond Daniell, another N. Y. Times correspondent in Paris, reports a popular distrust of de Gaulle for whom "there seems to be very little enthusiasm. . . It was perhaps significant that a handpicked crowd in the hall where he delivered his speech (on the new 'planned economy') applauded, but that the crowds in the streets showed scarcely any enthusiasm."

In de Gaulle, working-class Paris sees just another capitalist politician — radical in words, reactionary in deeds. They have observed how the de Gaulle government "has been too lenient with collaborationists; too quick to round up the small fry and too slow to go after those who, because of their influence and power, performed great services for the Germans."

The Paris workers, says the correspondent, "are in a mood to work for an fight for Liberty, Equality and Fraternity as they have never fought before in our time." In actual experience they are now discovering the treachery of the Stalinist and "Socialist" leaders, who are bent on preserving the very system of capitalist oppression which the workers are striving to end.

In the fire of the coming struggles a new revolutionary party, enjoying the support of the broadest masses and capable of leading them in the struggle for socialism, will be born. Its Trotskyist nucleus already exists. Nothing and nobody will be able to prevent the French working-class from reaching its socialist destiny.

LOS ANGELES

Mass Meeting

"THE SOCIALIST ANSWER TO WALL STREET POST-WAR PLANNING"

Speaker: MURRY WEISS

Sunday, October 15—3 P. M.

MASON'S HALL, 1050 East 50th Street

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party, Los Angeles Branch

In Memory Of Grant Dunne, Working Class Fighter Who Gave His Life For Socialism

On October 5, 1941, shortly before the Minneapolis trial, Grant Dunne, one of the 29 Socialist Workers Party and Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders originally indicted, committed suicide.

A veteran of the First World War, Grant Dunne had been in ill health for many years as a result of shell-shock.

On this third anniversary of Comrade Dunne's death we republish in part this tribute to his memory delivered at his funeral on October 7, 1941 by Farrell Dobbs, then National Labor Secretary of the SWP and now one of the 18 prisoners in the Minneapolis Labor Case.

By Farrell Dobbs

Grant John Dunne was born June 21, 1893, on a farm east of Little Falls, Minnesota. He went through eighth grade in a one-room schoolhouse in the country. Soon after the turn of the century the Dunne family moved to Minneapolis. Grant went to South High for one year and then, like so many sons of the working class, had to forego schooling and go to work. He got his first job as a bill clerk for the Railway Express Company . . .

On February 6, 1918, he was married to Clara Houck. They had four sons, Claire, John, Richard and Russell. Five months after his marriage Grant was inducted into the 3rd Pioneer Infantry, and one month later he found himself in the frontline trenches in France.

His first great lesson in life he learned from the imperialist war, which broke up his life, took him from his wife who was with their first son, and propelled him, untrained, into the maelstrom of war . . .

Severe Case of Shell-Shock

On the very eve of the Armistice he was transporting munitions to the front lines when he was caught with other soldiers in a terrific explosion at an ammunition dump. Grant sustained a severe case of shell-shock. He was hospitalized in France and brought back to the United States on a stretcher. . . His recovery from his wounds was slow, and he suffered many relapses, especially in the last year of his life when the existence of another World War brought back to him the sufferings he saw and experienced in the first World War.

In 1920 he obtained employment as an office worker in Minneapolis. He was very conscious of the fact that his lack of formal schooling was a handicap, and he took up the task of self-education. Discovering a talent for figures, he immersed himself in the study of mathematics. Later he entered the construction industry, working his way up to the post of executive secretary of a large construction firm, then serving the firm as branch manager in St. Louis and Washington, D. C. Still later, he was employed as an expert estimator with a plumbing supply company in St. Louis where his expert knowledge of the industry was frequently consulted by others.

Then came the economic crash of 1929. Grant, like millions of other persons, was thrown into the ranks of the unemployed.

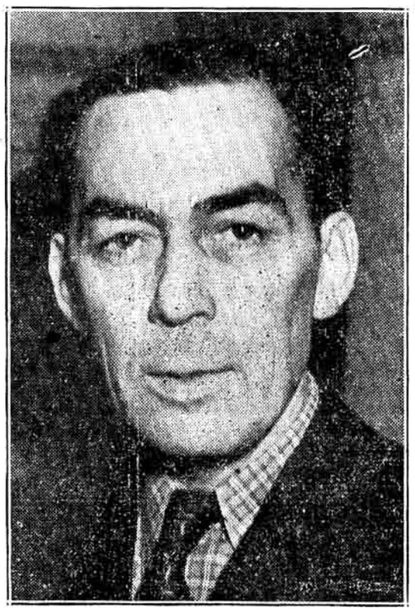
How did it come about that he and millions of others wanted to work but could find no work to perform? Grant asked himself this question. He again applied himself to study. He found the system of capitalism to be responsible for the great ills of mankind. He found the answer in the working class movement. He came to understand the need for trade unions and for trade union struggle. He came to see the necessity for working class political action. Fearlessly he threw himself into the task of building the union movement, of strengthening the workers' political movement. He devoted the remainder of his years to these tasks . . .

Contributions to Union

In 1933 Grant finally landed a job as driver. . . He was one of the pioneers who helped launch the campaign to organize the Minneapolis drivers, who helped build that organization which later came to be known as Local 544 . . .

Seldom in the forefront, so far as the public was concerned, Grant made heavy contributions to his union. He served it as a skillful organizer. He was especially versatile in committee work. He played a brilliant role in presenting testimony on the workers' movement and the needs of the unemployed to various government bodies in Washington. For years he served the Federal Workers Section as its assistant from the General Drivers Union.

Grant would always rise to his fullest stature



GRANT DUNNE
1893-1941

at the time when his organization was facing its greatest crisis.

In the summer of 1934, when Governor Olson's National Guards were on the streets of Minneapolis, were turning loose the trucks with military permits, were breaking our strike, raiding our strike headquarters, arresting our leaders and our pickets, Grant, more than any other person helped turn the tide of battle. He appeared before the governor and before the colonels, forcing the release of the arrested union leaders, forcing the guardsmen to evacuate the union headquarters. . .

He Opened Workers' Eyes

Grant did the greatest individual service for me that anyone ever performed. He picked me out from behind a coal pile in 1933, where I was shoveling coal for 35c. an hour, bewildered and confused by life. Grant set my foot on the high road of the workers' political movement.

Grant has started hundreds of other workers on this same path, the only path that leads to the ultimate solution of all our major problems. Grant has opened the eyes of hundreds to the realities of our economic and political system. Through these men Grant will continue to serve the workers' movement until the final victory is won. This is his greatest contribution to humanity . . .

Grant saw all the young men of the present generation being shoved into the maw of the war machine. He saw the Roosevelt administration lashing out against the union that Grant belonged to and against the party, the Socialist Workers Party, that Grant belonged to. He saw himself one of the victims of the vicious witchhunts that always precede and accompany imperialist war. The government and the union bureaucrats were persecuting, in Grant, a man who was himself a victim of the first World War.

As Grant saw the approach of America's entrance into the bloody struggle for markets and colonies and profits, he looked upon his three sons of military age. He thought of the suffering this war might bring to them, as the earlier war had brought to him. He saw his first-born, Claire, a war-baby now grown and about ready to march off to another war.

These sad burdens aggravated the wounds inflicted upon him in mind and body at the Argonne. All of this was more than he could bear.

He Was a Good Fighter

We are gathered here to say our last farewell to Grant Dunne. We shall cherish his memory. We shall love him for the good he has done. Grant gave all that he had to the cause that meant more to him than life itself. He risked his life many times without giving it a second thought. He was a good fighter.

We shall write his name on the banner of his union and his party. And here at his funeral let us strike up once again the forward march to carry that banner onward — in spite of everything — to the final victory of the workers and the free world of emancipated labor.

Chiang Kai-Shek Regime Shaken By Grave Crisis

By Li Fu-Jen

Rotted to the very core by corruption, powerless to stem the raging economic crisis, and unable any longer to offer even a token resistance to the armies of Japanese imperialism, the Kuomintang police-military dictatorship headed by the butcher Chiang Kai-shek is falling apart to the alarm of the "democratic" imperialists who have been counting on Chiang's regime as an indispensable ally in their war against Japan.

Facts testifying to the utter rottenness of the bloody dictatorship which has ruled over the Chinese masses for the past 17 years appeared in the capitalist press last week and were publicized as "revelations." But the facts are not new. They have simply been suppressed through censorship exercised both by the Kuomintang government and its imperialist friends. Only the Trotskyist press has consistently revealed the true facts about China and given accurate appraisals of the Kuomintang regime.

LOSS OF KWEILIN

The occasion of the new "revelations" was the severe blow suffered by the U. S. 14th Air Force on Sept. 15 when it was compelled to abandon its $90,000,000 base at Kweilin in the southwestern province of Kwangsi after dynamiting its 550 buildings and air strips as Japanese forces swept down from the north in their campaign to complete the severance of all eastern China from the hinterland.

"It was almost a bloodless victory for the Japanese. Ten thousand troops swept the remnants of eight Chinese armies before them, meeting hardly a token resistance," wired Charles Miner, N. Y. Post correspondent at Kweilin. According to the Associated Press, the evacuation of Kweilin presented the "paradox of unsuccessful defensive action aground despite clear superiority in the air," for the 14th Air Force is "the most substantial firepower the Chinese had."

Loss of Kweilin (although by the beginning of this week the Japanese forces had not yet reached either the city or its air base) alarmed imperialist headquarters because it was their most advanced base in eastern China and its abandonment has placed both Shanghai and the island of Formosa outside the range of their bombers.

The feebleness of Chinese resistance to Japan's advances has brought into question the value of the Kuomintang regime as a military ally of the imperialists. Roosevelt, determined to bolster Chiang's decayed rule because he regards it as the only barrier to revolution in China, had earlier sent Donald Nelson and Major-Gen. Patrick Hurley to Chungking to see what could be done. The first step was to expose the long-suppressed facts. The abandonment of Kweilin provided the occasion and at least part of the truth has at last been permitted to pass the censorship.

Associated Press, in the dispatch from Kunming quoted above, said Chinese reverses "are generally put down to ineptness and confusion of command, lack of integrated communications and many other deficiencies . . . Chungking has issued orders that have indicated a disregard or lack of knowledge of field situations. An example was the decimation of one army that, evidently for reasons of 'face,' was ordered to drive back into Hengyang when it might have been digging in for the defense of Kweilin . . . At times Chinese infantry has been thrown into an attack simply for the sake of attacking, with no specific mission. On at least one such occasion they were chopped to pieces by Japanese machine-gunners . . . Dysentery has taken a terrible toll. In hot weather the Chinese drink the water from the rice paddy fields . . . A chest or abdominal wound for a soldier was virtually the same as a bullet through the head, for generally speaking only the walking wounded could be evacuated. The others were abandoned."

CHUNGKING REGIME

While Kweilin was being evacuated, the People's Political Council, a handpicked caricature of a democratic assembly, was meeting in Chungking and, according to Brooks Atkinson of the N. Y. Times, "never before have delegates . . . spoken so sharply to government ministers about corruption, inefficiency, repression, the shocking treatment of Chinese soldiers and other evils of the moribund regime and never before have Chinese newspapers reported speeches and criticisms so fully." Chiang's finance minister H. H. Kung, presently in the United States, and notorious for his corruption, was one of the main targets of criticism.

"Suddenly a breath of fresh air has begun to rush through the stagnant miasma of Chungking," the elated Atkinson reported, adding that Chiang had advised the Board of Censors "to pass within reason everything that is factually true."

At these sessions of the People's Political Council — a body which has no legislative, much less executive powers, and which only now has gained a right to even criticize the government — Chiang himself, the fountainhead of all the corruption, was not criticized by as much as a word. This is additional proof that no fundamental change is contemplated by the real political power.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Chiang is attempting to saddle responsibility for all the crimes of his hateful regime onto some of his henchmen and the state functionaries. To save his regime, a regime of landlord-capitalist robbery and oppression, he will simply reorganize the government, eliminate the more notorious of the grafters, punish a few small-time functionaries. Nothing fundamentally will be changed.

In this scheme to postpone the inevitable day of reckoning with the masses whom he has tortured, starved and wantonly sacrificed, he has Roosevelt's backing. As Atkinson reports, "for purely selfish reasons China's allies, notably America, are interested in a unified China under the Generalissimo's leadership to prosecute the war vigorously."

SEEKS SCAPEGOATS

And Chiang himself, says the correspondent, "believing that it is still possible to keep the old worn machine from being tossed on the scrap heap, is receptive to new suggestions and eager to make necessary changes." A revealing commentary on this sudden eagerness of Chiang to make "necessary changes" was contained in the Chungking press late last month. It was reported that a transportation regiment of sick and half-starved men passed through the capital and when Chiang was "prevailed upon" to visit it he was "so shocked that he struck the commanding officers in the face with his cane." The lower command of the army is to be made the scapegoat for crimes against the soldiers just as the bureaucrats are being blamed for the crimes against the people.

According to the Chungking newspapers, the "shocked" Generalissimo "ordered the Conscription Bureau to improve the livelihood of soldiers and civil servants." It is also reported that more "representatives" are to be added to the People's Political Council. But barren decrees and a dressing-up of the impotent assembly will change nothing. The canker eating at the very heart of Chinese society is lodged in the reactionary rule of the landlords and capitalists. It is at one and the same time the source of the country's economic and social decay and of the utter failure of the defensive war against Japanese imperialism. The Kuomintang regime with all its corruption and ineptitude is merely the reflection at the political summit of the social putrescence below. No mere reshuffle of the government will change anything essential.

As Atkinson wrote, there is no concrete evidence that any decisive change is going to be made in the administration of this tired, impoverished, loosely knit, sprawling state." Meanwhile he reports an "alarming decrease in industrial production, motor transport, which is limping on its last wheels; inefficiency in the military organization continuing inflation; the widespread corruption in taxation, the manner of conscripting army recruits," etc.

Only the sorely-oppressed masses of China, making a clean sweep of the landlord-capitalist system and the putrid regime which it supports, can rescue the country from its awful economic plight, expel the imperialists of all varieties, and clear the road to a decent, prosperous, and peaceful era under socialism.

SEPTEMBER F. I. FEATURES TIMELY ARTICLES ON EUROPE

Recent developments in France, the practical tasks facing the peoples of Europe, and the theoretical problems posed by the Second World War, form the focal point of the September issue of "Fourth International," now on sale.

"Whither France," by Daniel Logan describes the uprisings in Paris and Marseilles, the role of the armed workers in the FFI, and the insoluble problems facing the dictatorial De Gaulle regime as it attempts to hold in check the demands of the French workers. "Europe in the Sixth War Year," by William F. Warde, surveys the appalling scene of starvation, inflation and misery in Europe, as Anglo-American imperialism fights to subjugate the continent. Warde predicts that the inevitable disillusionment of the European masses as they see in action the enslaving program of the "liberators" and the treachery of Stalin will bring the European peoples into direct collision with this counter-revolutionary crew.

"Trotsky's Prognosis of Our Epoch," by Joseph Hansen, describes the present epoch of imperialism as the direct introduction to the period of world revolution. He emphasizes, in Trotsky's words: "It is not a question of a single uprising. It is a question of an entire revolutionary epoch." In the kiln of ceaseless struggles by the masses the revolutionary leadership of the working class must and will be formed, to close the period of capitalist imperialism by the success of the socialist revolution.

Trotsky's own writings of 1915-16 on "The Program for Peace," appear in the "Arsenal of Marxism." These articles have been newly translated from the Russian for *Fourth International* by John G. Wright. They pose sharply and clearly the need for the revolutionary socialist program of the Socialist United States of Europe as the only way to reconcile the aspirations of the peoples for national independence and social liberation with the economic need for continental unity. Written a generation ago, the articles are today more timely than ever.

An excellent review of "Zapata, the Unconquerable," the biographical novel about the great Mexican agrarian revolutionist of 1910, is contributed by Donna Kent.

The Month in Review by the editors gives an analysis of the national elections in the United States and pays tribute to the Fourth International on the Sixth Anniversary of its Founding Congress.

Single copies of "Fourth International" may be obtained for 20 cents, yearly subscription $2, by writing to the Business Manager, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

By V. Grey

"Supposing we do give all the capitalists the gate, and run the show ourselves under a workers' government, what about the rest of the world? The Hitlers and Churchills aren't going to like it much, are they? Suppose they bamboozle the European workers to keep right on in the old way. The capitalists would turn these Europeans against us and it would be our necks pretty soon, wouldn't it?"

Yes. Sooner or later the whole world must be Socialist. It can't exist half free and half slave. And when we succeed we'll help the working people all over the world to do the same as we did. We'll help them with money—with books and the like. But they'll be looking for the Socialist way out anyhow. They are already doing it today. The conditions they have to live under make them start thinking that way. The problems they have to solve are the same as ours. And there is only one solution.

Something happened in the shop a few years back that demonstrates this pretty well. It's a long way from world Socialism and revolution, maybe. But it might give you the idea. Louie, the stump jumper, used to be one of the two welders in the shop before his eyes went bad on him. There was very little welding done here then. And what the rest of us didn't know about the subject we learned from Louie—which wasn't so good because, even at that time, Louie was one of these tight-lipped customers—the kind of a guy who would huddle his whole body over a blue-print for fear you might find out what he was going to do before he doped it out himself.

There were a couple of old coffee grinders that the company passed off for electric welding machines. Louie used both of them on the day shift and Harry Johnson used them both at night. (There had to be two because one or the other was always going on the bum.) Well, at this particular time we were working on a new job. We were making metal door arches for schools and offices. They were made out of 16 gage sheet metal, bent several times the long way to reinforce them and make them look fancy. Nowadays the roller line can bend a continuous strip a half a mile long while you're turning around to sneeze. But in those days each piece had to be cut in short lengths and bent several times on the brake.

THE SECRET OF LOUIE'S GREATER OUTPUT

The top of the arch had to be welded to the two legs. And I guess they were holy hell to weld, especially with those awful machines. The metal was so thin the welding arc would go right through it if you used any heat at all. And by the time you cut the heat down to where you figured it ought to be, it was too cold to work at any speed with. These were the old fashioned machines, remember.

But old Louie finally seemed to get the idea somehow—and he started turning those frames out like nobody's business. With Harry, though, it was a different story. He'd struggle along all night without getting anywhere. Poor Harry Johnson and the stump jumper had been carrying on some kind of a feud for years, and Louie, even when he was expansive, was never what you'd call the most helpful guy in the world. Louie did three for Harry's one every day. Louie didn't really mean to be a job killer. He just wanted to be nasty with Harry.

We all found out later on, when the new machine came in with an automatic volt and amp adjuster, just what Louie's secret had been. It was very simple. For that kind of a job you don't just cut everything way down. You turn the voltage very low, but keep the amperage fairly high for such light work, and you can go right to town.

Well, to get on with the story. It seems Louie would finish a half hour early every day and deliberately reset the machine so Harry, the night man, would find it that way and never dream that his trouble was there. But Louie's stump-jumping joy was short lived. One morning he came into work and saw welded frames piled up all over the place. And he counted them—while he was pretending to look at a blue-print. There were half again as many as he'd ever done. The same thing happened for a week. Finally, he couldn't stand it any longer. He just hung around and waited one evening. He just stood there with his arms folded, watching Harry. Of course, a couple of us stayed, too, just to watch the stump jumper. Harry must have felt kind of funny. But finally he went up to the machine and set it. Louie didn't make any bones about it at all. He walked right over and stood behind Harry to watch what he did.

THEY ARRIVED AT THE SAME SOLUTION

Well, you'd have sworn Louie the stump jumper would never have worked here again. He was that mad. Harry had finally got on to the simple trick himself. Louie must have figured he had some kind of personal patent on it. But things will happen that way when people have the same troubles. They finally have to come to the same solution. Of course, if everybody were like Louie the stump jumper it would be a pretty long drawn out business. It's much quicker when new methods of doing things are taught by one to another—or brought from one place to another. That's the way it's going to be with Socialism. Workers everywhere are going to be looking for it. Some will find it for themselves like Harry Johnson. Others will have to be shown what wheels and switches to work. But they'll be just as good at it and fight just as hard to get it, as anybody else.

When the CIO started in the middle thirties, the time was ripe and the thing was needed. The movement spread like wildfire. Shops in our town got organized overnight. Just a hint, just a breath of an idea of what it was all about and the rest followed. It's like that all over the world. South America, Asia, Africa—all have trade unions today—where reactionaries haven't crushed them. And it's not because William Green or Philip Murray sent any round-the-world pork choppers to organize the workers, either. They did it themselves because of their own desperate need. A hint was all they needed—if even that. Industries have appeared for the first time in these places. And almost at once trade unions have sprung up. They didn't go through a hundred years of organizational trial and error like elsewhere. They have just seen the factory for the first time. And the answer we have taken a long time to think up, hits them right between the eyes.

Now, in the last few years, the ideas of revolutionary Socialism have penetrated these places too. Carried in every way you can imagine by soldiers, sailors, prisoners, labor battalions—by literature, letters, spoken messages. And sometimes in places so remote that travelers hardly ever reach them, we hear they have organized a Trotskyist party. This party has the right answers—the right solution no matter what part of the world you talk about. When people begin to look for the solution, they are looking for that party and its socialist program. We have a WORLD movement already. We're going to have a WORLD-WIDE socialist society. And once we really get going nobody is going to stay bamboozled very long.

OCTOBER SUNDAY NIGHT FORUMS

NEW YORK SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE
116 University Place (Bet. Broadway and 5th Avenue)
New York 3, N. Y.

* "WHAT'S NEXT IN FRANCE?" Can De Gaulle Solve the Social Crisis in France? Speaker—Frank Lawrence	SUNDAY OCTOBER 8 8 P. M.
* "THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN ITALY" Against Fascism and Military Dictatorship—For Socialism Speaker—Myra Tanner	SUNDAY OCTOBER 15 8 P. M.
* "WHAT THE ELECTIONS MEAN TO AMERICAN WORKERS" A Program to Solve the Problems of Cutbacks and Unemployment Speaker—C. Thomas	SUNDAY OCTOBER 22 8 P. M.
* "WHAT IS HAPPENING INSIDE GERMANY?" Will the German Workers Revolt? Speaker—John G. Wright	SUNDAY OCTOBER 29 8 P. M.

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THE BUNK OF POST WAR JOB PLANNING

Can capitalism and its governmental boards plan an economy that will do away with unemployment?

Speaker: LAWRENCE P. TRAINOR

Friday, October 20th - 8 P. M.

SEATTLE SOCIAL SCIENCE CLUB
608½ 3rd Avenue—Room 204
Corner of James

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Charles Jackson

A Worker's Fortune

I asked B. P., one of our newer comrades, to pinch hit for me this week. He chose, in retrospect, to make some personal observations. His article follows and its eloquence needs no comment.

I am a fellow worker who inherited a great fortune. It came to me after years of believing in capitalism, fighting in vain for equal rights and "butting my head against a stone wall." It came as the result of the death of a man whose passing I have no cause to regret.

Under such conditions of inheritance it is no more than fair that I should share the fortune with others. There is enough of it to go around no matter how many take their cut, for it is not the kind of wealth that is washed away by bank failures, depressions or unemployment. In a manner seemingly strange, division has the effect of multiplication on this new-found wealth of mine.

The man who bequeathed riches to me resembled me in every outward way. His name was the same as mine. He had the same parents, the same childhood and the same semi-education. As a matter of fact, he was my former self.

Yes, after a long and suffering illness my former self gave up a fruitless struggle and died. An autopsy showed that he died of mis-education, vain desires for unattainable riches, lack of faith in the working people and other complications often seen in the workers under capitalism.

There is no finer sensation than that which comes with victory over one's self. It feels good to go fronting into the obstacles of racial injustice created by capitalism and winning a few scrimmages now and then; but it feels a thousand times better to go forward with a program that has as its goal COMPLETE achievement.

CONQUEST OF FEAR

I knew the joy of skating on a clear day; I knew the joy of winning a baseball game with a home run; I knew the delight of a good meal after a long walk. But all of them put together can not approach the thrill of conquering the fear of capitalist injustices and capitalist insecurity. Nor the satisfaction of fighting, teaching and working for Socialism with its peace, plenty and equality for all.

For twenty years I had fought against the unreasonable "justice" meted out under the prevailing system. "What's the matter?", I asked myself, and kept on asking that same question and hoping that the answer some day would come. I prodded myself hard at this period and always there was the temptation to evade complete honestly. I felt that, someday, the Negro must be given equal rights by the government, that government which had guaranteed all men those rights—at least on paper. It is so easy — and so dangerous—to rationalize. It is equally easy — and equally dangerous—to become a martyr in one's own thinking.

Day after day the battle raged within me before the forces of mis-education began to give way to the truth. The trouble was I lacked dominion over my own emotions and thoughts.

Dominion! That word stuck in my mind. I needed it. No man ever needed it more than I did. But how to acquire it? That was the rub. The mis-education and constant propaganda I received under capitalism made me rebel at the very possibility of a socialist world. But that rebellion was not so strong as to satisfy my mind and put it at ease. I thought and thought. I checked back over my life. I analyzed and re-analyzed. I read and read some more for I knew that I was facing a crisis.

PLAIN TRUTH

One night reading **The Militant** I saw this quotation of Karl Marx: "Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded." Somewhere I had read those words before but I didn't give them much attention because I hadn't realized my own futility. That night the quotation seemed almost illuminated on the printed page. The light of truth shone through. I saw that under capitalist exploitation I could never, no never, obtain equal rights as a citizen. From that moment forward I was either to deteriorate or else to construct a life worth living.

The quotation suddenly struck home. "Why, that means me," I said to myself, "It means that the white worker cannot succeed without me nor I without him. We must work together. We must establish a new economic order."

Obviously. Why hadn't I seen that before? A truth discovered always seems so plain and simple that we wonder why the discovery was so long delayed.

My next step was to find the people who—today—follow the teachings of the author of that quotation. I found the Marxist fighters for equality and liberation of the workers of the world in the Socialist Workers Party. Since joining their ranks I am even more convinced that their strategy and their goal will bring the only solution to the injustices against which we have all been fighting.

Roosevelt And Churchill Attempt To Deceive Rebellious Masses In Allied-Dominated Italy

(Continued from page 1)

things they were promised by the imperialists more than a year ago, Roosevelt and Churchill reply with a promise to give more control to the monarchical police-military dictatorship of Bonomi which, subject to Allied approval, "rules" Italy solely in the interests of the capitalist-landlord minority.

Answering the cry of a starving people for bread, they merely instruct the UNRRA to "declare for" sending supplies, but without any firm undertaking that they will be sent.

As for the economic "reconstruction," only steps of military value to the Allied imperialists will be undertaken. The resources of the ruined country and its people are regarded exclusively from the point of view of their value to the imperialists and their predatory plans.

The Roosevelt-Churchill pronouncement will certainly arouse no joy among the sorely-tried Italian masses who are struggling for bread, liberty and peace. But it came just in time to save the bankrupt Bonomi government from being cast into the trash-can by the outraged workers and peasants.

RESCUE BONOMI

As the N .Y. Times reported in a Rome dispatch, the Bonomi Cabinet, riven by dissension among the "Six Parties" which comprise the "coalition" on which it rests, was falling apart. Bonomi himself was about to resign.

The Stalinist leader Palmiro Togliatti (Ercoli) once more came to the rescue of the regime with a reaffirmation of his party's intention to continue supporting the government. This support from the strongest of the political parties saved the day for Bonomi, who, as the N. Y. Times report pointed out, "was in a strong position because he knew that nobody else wanted to assume the thankless task of running the government." The venal Italian agents of the counter-revolutionary Kremlin gang are intent on aborting the Italian revolution if they can. Hence their support of the bankrupt Bonomi regime.

But the revolutionary ferment of the masses continues and grows. It can be stilled neither by Stalinist treachery nor the empty promises of "Roosevelt-Churchill."

An indication of the revolutionary temper of the masses was given by the Italian "Socialist" leader Pietro Nenni in a speech at Aquila the day the Bonomi cabinet got through its latest crisis. He declared that the reactionaries (meaning the capitalists and landlords and their Fascist henchmen) were mobilizing for action against the insurrectionary masses and declaimed: "We do not want civil war but we declare that we will accept it if it is imposed."

This threat certainly will not frighten the reaction, for the "Socialists" in whose name Nenni speaks are no more inclined to lead the masses in revolutionary struggle than the Stalinists. They, too, participate in the Bonomi "coalition" and do their utmost to sidetrack the workers and peasants from revolutionary action.

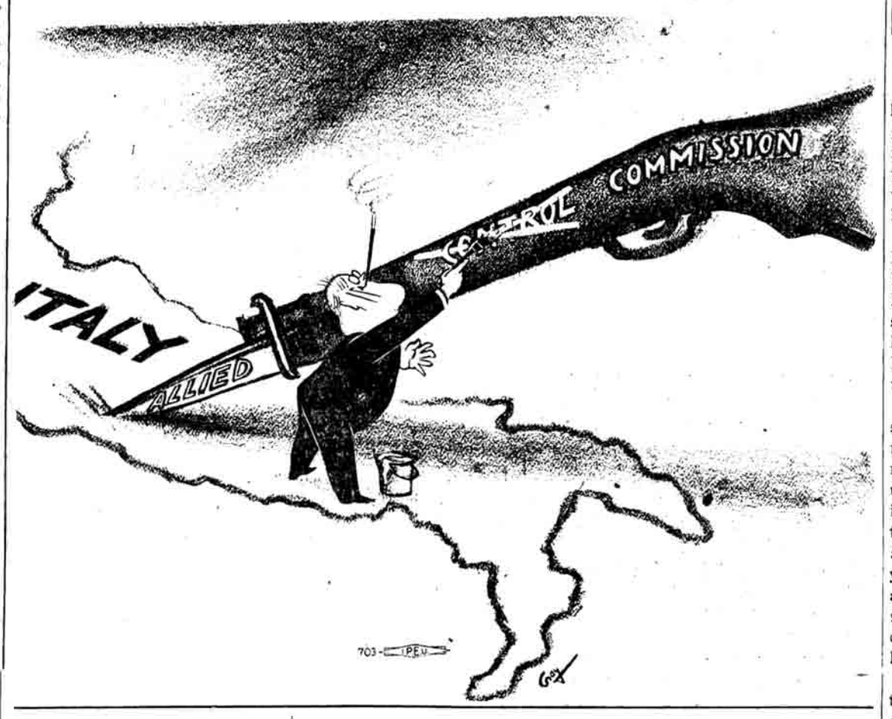
AGRARIAN REVOLT

Meanwhile, testifying to the profound deepening of the insurrectionary ferment in Italy are reports of renewed outcroppings of agrarian revolt. Last week, United Press reported from Rome, several thousand peasants armed with scythes, spades and a few old shotguns invaded the vast estate of Prince Enzo Odescaloni near Lake Bracciano and demanded that the land be turned over to unemployed factory workers. They had returned to the village of Bracciano after the factories in Rome and other cities where they had been working closed down. Brandishing their weapons, they threatened to loot the castle and other buildings, but were prevented from doing so by Allied soldiers.

In this one incident can be seen the close social connection between the Italian workers and peasants, the community of their class interests, the need for them to unite in joint struggle against the capitalists and landlords, the reactionary government, and its imperialist backers.

Not the fake "coalition" of the Six Parties, which is dedicated to the preservation of the rotted capitalist order, but only the firm revolutionary alliance of the workers and peasants can lead Italy out of the mire of hunger, poverty and war on to the high road that leads to a socialist society of peace and plenty.

It's the Same Bayonet



For a Rising Scale of Wages to Meet Rising Living Costs

Roosevelt, Tobin Continuing Conspiracy Against The 18

(Continued from page 1)

against the 18 and urging their members not to support their campaign for pardon.

A NEW LOW

These two resolutions mark a new low in the history of degradation in the American labor movement. The Minneapolis Labor Case has been correctly considered the outstanding violation of civil liberties in this country during World War II. Organizations representing over three million workers have already condemned this vicious frameup. Now Tobin, aided by the Stalinists, is trying to cover up his complicity in this case by extorting reactionary resolutions such as these from the official union bodies in Minnesota.

In Minnesota, Tobin's machine in the AFL and the Stalinist apparatus in the CIO have been able to put over such resolutions only through the most ruthless bureaucratic measures. They continue to persecute every union militant who dares oppose their activities and threaten the posts of any union official who refuses to go along with their sell-out policies. Nevertheless, it is significant that, despite their desperate efforts to counteract the nation-wide support for the CRDC pardon campaign, Tobin and the Stalinists have so far been able to gain support only from their completely-controlled union organizations in Minnesota.

The Minneapolis Labor Case was essentially a conspiracy between Roosevelt, the chief executive of the capitalist class, and Tobin, one of the most corrupt labor lieutenants of capitalism, to purge the labor movement of its most militant leaders and gag the voice of revolutionary socialism in preparation for Wall Street's war. Both Roosevelt and Tobin have found it increasingly difficult to defend their actions in face of the protests from progressive labor opinion. The imprisonment of the 18 didn't achieve the administration's aim of beheading the revolutionary socialist movment or silencing the socialist opponents of the imperialist war. On the contrary, the Trotskyist movement has since grown in size and influence despite the imprisonment of many of its leaders precisely because of its uncompromising adherence to its principles.

Recognizing that the frameup of the Trotskyists is a blow against the democratic rights of all labor, a powerful section of the union movement has come to the defense of the 18. The efforts of the administration, Tobin and the Stalinists to reinforce and continue this frameup must not go unchallenged. More insistently than ever must all defenders of civil liberties let the White House know that it must free the 18 without further delay.

Upholds Bridges Deportation Order

The Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco on September 27 refused a rehearing of its decision upholding the order of Attorney General Biddle and the Immigration Department for the deportation to Australia as an "undesirable alien" of Harry Bridges, president of the CIO Longshoremen's Union.

The administration instituted deportation proceedings against Bridges when he still retained some reputation for militancy among West Coast workers. This anti-labor action is still being pressed despite Bridge's surrender to the employers and the government in line with the sell-out policies of the Stalinists.

In its brief submitted at this hearing the Department of Justice cited as a precedent against Bridges the use of the Smith "Gag" Act against the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists although Bridges himself is one of the most outspoken endorsees of the government frameup in the Minneapolis Labor Case. Such are the suicidal consequences of the scabby Stalinist campaign to sabotage support for the 18.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

Joey left the day before yesterday. There's so much to say about his going, but there's more to say about the letter he sent back. I guess he must have written it right away on the train and mailed it at the first stop. It was a shock getting it so soon. But the contents gave me a shock, too, and hurt a bit. Joey never meant it that way, of course, and what he said is true, I guess, but still it sort of hit me.

He was writing about the future, about marrying his girl, Helen. He said, "Dad, I couldn't stand the idea of Helen going through life the way women live nowadays. When I came home and saw Mom, I was surprised: I didn't think Mom was so OLD! I guess she's worked pretty hard and hasn't had things too nice, Dad. I know you did all you could for all of us, and I know both Mom and I are as grateful as we can be. Only, you were a worker, Dad, and under this system your hands were tied."

It's funny. You live with a person for years, and you think they never change. At first, when I read Joey's words, I almost didn't understand them. I had been going along for years with the idea that Mary was almost as pretty as when we were a couple of youngsters going out to dances and dime shows together. I hadn't seen her growing old—not really old—before my very eyes, or perhaps I didn't let myself see.

Why, it seems only yesterday that we were sitting in the kitchen of her house trying to figure out how we'd be able to get married on what I was earning. It was a cold and snowy night outside, and I was sitting there holding hands, hating the thought of plodding back through the night to Mrs. Wieczowic's boarding house. It was warm there and sort of wonderful and peaceful. It seemed to me that with her to help me, I could lick the whole world and carry her right up to the top, although I knew we'd be terribly poor to start with. I had the idea of giving her, somehow or other, all those things that women are supposed to want. . . .

Joey wrote that he was surprised to find her looking so old! I am, too. But, after all, what else could I expect?

How could she go through the years when the plant was working two or three days a week or even less without getting old? How could she haggle with the relief visitor, when I was laid off entirely, without getting a little older? How could she greet me each day with a smile and a kiss, when I'd come home without even the slightest prospect of a job, without aging? How the hell could she or any other woman go on drudging from one year to the next, raising kids, housecleaning, washing and ironing, struggling and worrying, and still stay as pretty and young as I have always wanted to think she was?

BREAD AND ROSES

Joey went on: "I remember a song that Helen used to like in those days when the bunch of us used to get together sometimes in the evening and sing union and revolutionary songs after we had come in from distributing the paper or something. It was called 'Bread and Roses', and it was all about the lousy time that the women have and about how the fight for the freedom of the working class is not only for bread, but also for the chance to get a little beauty into life.

"I guess you wanted all the things for Mom that I want for Helen. I want life to be clean and healthy and beautiful. I want her to have some leisure time, not the idea of having nothing to do but be in clubs and serve on committees like rich women, but enough leisure to live and have some fun and some rest. I don't want her to have to work and slave all the time like poor Mom has had to do, through no fault of yours.

"You've been fighting now for a long time to make the world a place fit for people to live in. Helen and I haven't been fighting in the class struggle so long, but we're in the fight, too, Dad, and I think we have a half-way good chance of seeing the victory in that fight. So, if I come back, I'll be fighting for roses for Helen as well as for bread for her and me. And I'll be fighting against the people that condemned Mom to a life of hardship."

Well, there's a lot in what Joey said. I still can't believe that my girl is as old as he makes out, but he's still young, and I guess maybe Mary looks older to him than she does to me. Maybe I do, too. But, it would be stupid to say that he is really wrong. The thieves who have been stealing the products of my two hands for so many years have not stopped there. Their fingers have reached into our home and stolen away part of our very lives.

Pioneer Paragraphs

TROTSKYISM REPRESENTS THE REVIVAL OF GENUINE MARXISM

No doubt, in reading the literature of the Trotskyist movement in this country, you frequently noted the repeated statements that we have no new revelation: Trotskyism is not a new movement, a new doctrine, but the restoration, the revival, of genuine Marxism as it was expounded and practiced in the Russian revolution and in the early days of the Communist International.

Bolshevism itself was also a revival, a restoration, of genuine Marxism after this doctrine had been corrupted by the opportunists of the Second International, who culminated their betrayal of the proletariat by supporting the imperialist governments in the World War of 1914-18. When you study the particular period I am going to speak about in this course — the last thirteen years — or any other period since the time of Marx and Engels, one thing is observable. That is, the uninterrupted continuity of the revolutionary Marxist movement.

Marxism has never lacked authentic representatives. Despite all perversions and betrayals which have disoriented the movement from time to time, a new force has arisen, a new element has come forward to put it back on the right course; that is, on the course of orthodox Marxism. This was so in our case, too.

We are rooted in the past. Our movement which we call Trotskyism, now crystallized in the Socialist Workers Party, did not spring full-blown from nowhere. It arose directly from the Communist Party, and, in part, the Industrial Workers of the World. It grew out of the movement of the revolutionary workers in America in the pre-war and war-time period.

The Communist Party, which took organizational form in 1919, was originally the Left Wing of the Socialist Party. It was from the Socialist Party that the great body of Communist troops came. As a matter of fact, the formal launching of the Party in September 1919 was simply the organizational culmination of a protracted struggle inside the Socialist Party. There the program had been worked out and there, within the Socialist Party, the original cadres were shaped. This internal struggle eventually led to a split and the formation of a separate organization, the Communist Party.

(From "The History of American Trotskyism," by James P. Cannon, pp. 1-2. Pioneer Publishers, 1944, 268 pp.; cloth $2.75, paper $2. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.)

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This book, appearing four years after the death of Leon Trotsky, testifies to the vitality of the movement founded upon the ideas of the great revolutionary Marxist. The volume is a history of the origin and development of Trotskyism in the United States. James P. Cannon, the author, is the founder of the American Trotskyist organization.

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10 Years Ago In The Militant

OCTOBER 6, 1934

SPAIN—The Spanish working class called a general strike in answer to the growing threat of fascist rule. "The political crisis," said **The Militant**, "came to a climax this week when the Samper government presented its resignation at the opening session of the Cortes. A new government has been formed under the 'radical republican' Lerroux, representing a coalition of the blackest reactionary elements of the country, with the inclusion of fascists (Popular Action) in three ministries."

Reporting that armed clashes had taken place and the entire country put under martial law, The Militant said: **"The miners of Asturias are in open revolt in a body and appear to be well supplied with rifles, ammunition and even with machine guns."**

The Socialist Party, backed by the majority of the Spanish workers, assumed leadership of the struggle. Analyzing the role and program of the Socialist Party, **The Militant** called for support of its efforts, while advising the workers "to point out its political and tactical errors in an effort to correct them."

SAN FRANCISCO—President William Green delivered the keynote address at the AFL convention. He hailed President Roosevelt's demand for mediation to replace strike action, warning that "the right to strike involves so many serious considerations that it ought to be utilized only as a last resort." Thus openly upholding his treacherous role in selling out the auto, steel and textile strikes, Green embraced the same Roosevelt proposals which had previously been approved by the National Association of Manufacturers.

"Within the AFL there is not yet a national left wing," **The Militant** said. "Nevertheless the AFL is arriving at a crucial point in its history... Regardless of what they (the bureaucrats) may do to try to stem the tide, a modern American trade union movement is in the making."

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"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3. 1879."

To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

Trotskyism In Italy

For more than a year, ever since the overthrow of Mussolini and the Fascist regime, Italy has been seething in a white-hot revolutionary situation against a background of fearful mass misery which the advent of the Allied imperialist "liberators" served only to intensify.

The masses in southern Italy, hungry and rebellious, have striven and still strive to take their destinies into their own hands, to drive out the capitalists and landlords, and thus clear the road to a new socialist society in which hunger and the horrors of war will be banished for all time.

They refuse to have saddled upon them the rotten monarchy and the police-military dictatorship which the Allies have tried to foist upon them. They brought about the downfall of the Badoglio cabinet. Its successor, the Bonomi "coalition" in which the Stalinist and "Socialist" leaders participate, faces similar opposition. Incipient civil war characterizes the entire situation.

In the industrial north the workers have for months been giving battle to the Nazi oppressors. When the present artificial division of the country is ended, the great masses of workers in Piedmont and Lombardy will join forces with the rebellious masses of the more rural south. A fresh and even more vigorous chapter of the Italian revolution will commence.

All these things we have known and proclaimed. What we did *not* know, until recently, was the extent to which the revolutionary mood of the Italian masses was crystallizing in the form of a revolutionary political combat party able to organize and lead the masses in the struggle for power, the fight for socialism.

Now, we have been able to report through an eye-witness account in last week's issue of *The Militant*, the "rapid growth and increasing influence of the official Trotskyist movement, the Bolshevik-Leninist adherents of the Fourth International," formed in Naples, with groups in other large cities, including Rome, and extending also into the Nazi-dominated industrial cities of the North. The entire first edition of the Trotskyist paper, *L'Internazionale*, was completely sold out within two hours.

The planting of the Trotskyist banner marks a great revolutionary advance in Italy. It is important not only for Italy but for all Europe. The Trotskyists in America and throughout the world acclaim this great forward step. Confounding all the skeptics, it testifies anew to the readiness of the vanguard of the working masses to accept the revolutionary socialist program, the program of the Fourth International.

We pledge complete solidarity with our brave Italian comrades in their struggle for socialism. We know that the American imperialists, together with the British imperialists, and helped by the Stalinists and 'Socialist' traitors, will try—are trying now!—to strangle the Italian revolution. We will do all in our power to expose the conspiracies of the counter-revolution and to rally the American workers behind the great liberating struggle of the Italian people.

Wages And Inflation

Whenever the unions raise the question of a wage increase, there is a tremendous hue and cry about the "dangers of inflation" involved in relaxing the wage-freeze. The argument is advanced that an increase in wages would mean a rise in prices which would necessitate a further wage boost. This in turn would engender an additional price increase, and so on, with the end result being runaway inflation. The spectre of inflation is used as a bogey to frighten the workers into passive acceptance of the wage-freezing Little Steel formula. The agents of Big Business seek to perpetuate the myth that the administration's "hold-the-line" policies have "stabilized" the cost of living and that a wage increase would upset the "stability" between wages, prices and profits. This is a monstrous fraud!

With wages frozen the cost of living has continued to soar. The statistical survey conducted jointly by the AFL and CIO prove that the cost of living has risen beyond 45 percent. Therefore, it is not a question of wage increases "leading" to an inflationary spiral but of the urgent necessity of trying to catch up with the inflationary rise in the cost of living which has already taken place despite the wage-freeze. The cost-plus patriots and their political agents place the cart before the horse. The workers can catch up with the steadily rising cost of living only by fighting under the slogan of: A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living. For an escalator clause in all union contracts.

Capitalist Censorship

Censorship of the news, like secret diplomacy, is employed by the imperialists to screen their dirty doings from the public eye and thus preserve the illusion that this is a war for "freedom and democracy." The truth is always inimical to the nefarious plans of these conspirators against the masses. That is why they attempt to hide it. The further the war progresses, the more rigid and widespread the censorship becomes.

The British *Tribune* for Sept. 15 comments on the blackout of news, especially from the Allied-occupied parts of Europe, remarking ironically that "the more of Europe becomes liberated, the less we learn of what is going on."

Foreign correspondents are barred from "liberated" Brussels because the imperialists do not want them to tell the world about the tremendous revolutionary ferment among the Belgian workers who are displaying as fierce an opposition to the monarchy and the Pierlot "government" as the Italian workers did toward Badoglio and the House of Savoy.

British censors in India prevent any news of the great national liberation struggle in that country from reaching the outside world. American censors have blacked out all mention of the inspiring revolutionary demonstrations that recently shook Bulgaria when the Red Army marched into that country.

The imperialists impose a censorship of political news on the hypocritical ground that it is rendered necessary for "reasons of military security." It is denied that there is any political censorship as such. But this is a flagrant falsehood. Jack Belden, *Time* correspondent, exposes this falsehood in his latest book, *Still Time to Die*, in which he writes:

"On the correspondents' bulletin board in Algiers I saw a notice posted there by the authorities: 'There will be no more political censorship.' It was a lie. Should you write a message that dealt in any but the official American-British version of events, more often than not, when tracing it down, you would find it streaked with many marks of blue, and penciled with the legend, 'as censored by Mr. Murphy.' Should you question that august personage, that representative of the mighty American state, he would blandly assure you: 'There is no political censorship.'"

In censoring the news, the imperialists not only seek to hide their own dirty doings, but also to screen from the eyes of the working-class the inspiring struggles of their brothers in other lands. Thus they hope to preserve national hatreds and barriers and prevent the workers from achieving international unity in common struggle against their common enemies, the capitalists of the whole world.

But the censorship is not completely effective. News does trickle through. It is one of the great services of *The Militant* to the working-class of America that it hunts for news of workers' struggles everywhere and publishes all the facts it can obtain. In our next issue, we plan to present to our readers news of dramatic events in Bulgaria and India which have been suppressed by the censors.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. *Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.*

MCF Candidates Endorsed by PAC

Editor:

A surprising amount of influence within the labor movement was shown by the Michigan Commonwealth Federation at a meeting of the Wayne County PAC Friday, September 22, when the new party came out of the meeting with the official blessing of the PAC for two of its candidates. In spite of the Stalinist bloc within the PAC, endorsement was given to the candidacy of Matthew B. Hammond, state chairman of the MCF and nominee for Congress from the Seventeenth Congressional District, and to Ben. Garrison, past president of Ford Local 400, UAW-CIO and MCF nominee for state senator from the Fifth District.

The Stalinists, who have been opposed to the MCF since its inception, attacked the endorsements on the ground that it would result in great numbers of void ballots from labor because of the inability of the average rank-and-file worker to vote a split ticket properly. This argument was not given credence, however, when the meeting also endorsed two Republicans, Clarence Reid, nominee for state senator from the Eighteenth District, and Dr. Edward F. Fisher, nominee for the Legislature from the Fifth (Dearborn) District. Even the Stalinists were unable to come out for endorsements for the Democratic candidates, John W. Hicks, old-line Democrat from the Seventeenth and Charles S. Blondy, at present appealing his conviction for graft, from the Fifth.

August Scholle, Michigan regional director of the CIO's Political Action Committee, played a safe role by putting the question of the MCF candidates directly to the 300 delegates present. The question has been growing more and more embarrassing to the PAC leadership in recent weeks.

The decision of the delegates to approve the MCF's candidates undoubtedly expresses a strong desire on their part for genuinely independent political action by labor instead of the Murray-Hillman-Stalinist brand of politics.

D. A.
Detroit, Mich.

Negro Soldiers Win Demand

Editor:

Fifty-seven Negro soldiers won a substantial victory at Marana Army Air Field, as the result of a strike on Sept. 11. Their demand for extra pay for working in the aviation cadet mess-hall was granted, the Brass Hats awarding the men $25 per month additional pay. At the same time, however, the Brass Hats simultaneously increased the work week from 56 to 84 hours! This inhuman schedule is now being protested.

More important than the added hours is the significance of a real victory won by the solidarity of the Negro soldiers. At 4 o'clock in the morning, on Sept. 11, the first shift of sixteen men reported to the mess hall and announced that they would not work unless they got the extra bonus, 50 percent of their base pay, to which army regulations entitled them for such work. They were immediately imprisoned, and a "talk" was given to the second shift by the Executive Officer of the field, Major Tilden, and the white commanding officer of the Negro squadron, Lt. Shoupe. The second shift also refused to go to work, and was sent to the guardhouse.

The two remaining shifts likewise failed to report for work, but no disciplinary action was taken against them. Undoubtedly the officers felt the situation was getting "too hot to handle;" the largest concentration of Negro troops in the country, is in this area, near Tucson.

Most of the 57 soldiers had been on K. P. duty for nineteen months or more, doing the most menial work in the Army Air Forces, under constant abuse and subjected to notorious speed-ups. For the last nine months, they have been serving the cadets without receiving the bonus. In addition, for over eighteen months, they were punished for minor infractions by extra details of mess duty!

B. R.
Tucson, Ariz.

Sops to Workers

Editor:

Many workers are under the delusion that social security is something new and that Roosevelt originated such legislation. I confronted one of these workers with the statement that the German workers had a form of social security long before we ever heard of Roosevelt.

He wanted proof.

So I looked it up in the 1941 edition of the Encyclopedia Americana and found this information in Volume 12, on page 518:

"The Imperial Civil Code, after labors lasting for many years, was adopted and went into effect in 1900. A whole group of laws, beginning in the '80's and continuing into the new century, was framed, the so-called SOZIALGESETZGEBUNG (social benefit legislation), having for aim the material safeguarding of the bone and sinew of the nation — the laboring element, the skilled toilers, the shopkeepers and smaller dealers—and started by Bismarck himself, being originally a sop thrown to these hitherto oppressed and disaffected strata of the population from which the Socialists had chiefly recruited themselves."

Dewey and Roosevelt are only interested in continuing the capitalistic system and will throw sops to the workers only when forced to as Bismarck did. Then they will take them back when they can, as German capitalism did. The workers of America and Germany and of the whole world will not have real security until they abolish the capitalistic system and establish socialism.

L. Kemp
Los Angeles, Calif.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

SPAIN

Encouraged by the ousting of the Nazis from France, the masses of Spain are getting ready to settle accounts with the bloody regime of General Franco. Indicative of the coming revolutionary storm was the action last week of Spanish refugees in raising the Republican flag over the building of the Spanish consulate at Perpignan, French town only twenty miles from the Spanish border. Assisted by French partisan fighters they forced the consular representatives of the Franco government to withdraw and posted a guard around the building.

According to a Washington dispatch to the newspaper PM, Franco is contemplating a protest to the French Committee in Paris on the ground that the Perpignan incident is "an affront to French sovereignty." General Franco, it was added, is expected to make "every possible move to prevent the use of French soil for the organization of an attack against his authority in Spain. His authority grows weaker every day as the end of the war approaches."

Franco's concern, the dispatch states, is shared by U. S. Ambassador Carlton J. H. Hayes, who has proposed to Washington "the disarming of the Spanish in the French area." He has also proposed that the French government in Paris "be requested to send 10,000 Senegalese troops from Houlouse, north of Perpignan, to the border as police."

After Churchill's recent "kindly words about Spain" in the House of Commons, and in light of the entire counter-revolutionary policy of the Anglo-American imperialists in Europe, it is not surprising to find the latter conspiring against the Spanish masses who hate the Franco regime and are determined to get rid of it.

DENMARK

Less than three months after their last general strike and insurrection against the Nazis, the workers of Denmark, encouraged by signs of the approaching end of the Hitler regime, have resumed their battle against the oppressive invaders of their country.

The workers of Copenhagen declared a general strike September 19 after the Nazis had proclaimed a new state of siege in an effort to end "disorders" arising from their attempt to disarm the Danish police force who were resisting seizure and internment. The Danish police were accused of having taken part in anti-Nazi activities during the past year and the Nazis sought to disband the entire force of 12,000, replacing them by German police.

The general strike, according to Stockholm reports, paralyzed all activities in Copenhagen, although public utilities were kept running. Street clashes occurred and barricades went up once again as Danish police, uniting with the workers, fought against the Nazis. Seven Nazis were killed and many others wounded during the afternoon of September 19 alone.

SICILY

Watching apprehensively across the narrow Sicilian Strait the mounting tide of revolution on the Italian mainland, the landowning barons of Sicily, long protected by the regime of Mussolini, are pushing vigorously their movement for separation.

At Villalba, according to a N. Y. Times dispatch from Rome on September 20, hand grenades were thrown into a meeting called by the Stalinist and Socialist parties and a number of people in the audience were wounded, including one of the Stalinist speakers. At Palermo, the Sicilian capital, one of the ministers in the Bonomi cabinet was pelted with vegetables and fruit by separatists who broke up his meeting. These were but two incidents, both staged by the separatist landlords and their henchmen, among "dozens of stories" of landlord "lawlessness."

The reactionary barons hate the Stalinists and Socialists despite the fact that these supposed leaders of the masses have proclaimed their aversion for revolution and strive to hold the insurrectionary masses in check. They mistakenly identify the Stalinists with the great Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Their opposition to the Bonomi government springs from the realization that this feeble regime, which is supported solely by Allied bayonets, is quite unable to stem the tide of revolution.

Hence their promotion of a separatist movement. They seek to keep the island of Sicily a tight little stronghold of reaction in which their reactionary rule will not be effectively challenged. They are being supported by Churchill and the British imperialists who are scheming to revive the long-discarded Sicilian monarchy and convert the island into an "independent kingdom" subject to Britain, thus assuring British control of the eastern as well as the western basin of the Mediterranean.

ENGLAND

At a conference of British Empire "labor leaders" which opened in London on September 2, the luminaries of the British Labor Party took occasion once more to demonstrate their loyalty, not to the British workers whose class interests they are supposed to represent, but to the British capitalists who are the exploiters and oppressors of Labor.

The opening session of the conference was given over to craven expressions of loyalty to the British Empire which holds hundreds of millions of people in colonial slavery. Ellen Wilkinson, chairman of the British Labor Party, described the Empire as an "association of peoples" which should survive because it reflected "a mass longing for protection, for coming and keeping together in protective groups."

Some 385,000,000 people in India, more millions in British colonies in Africa and the Middle East and the Far East, and still more millions in British colonies in the Western Hemisphere, know differently. They know from bitter experience that the British Empire is an association of the British colonial robbers which keeps them in abject poverty and virtual slavery. They are striving to break free from this "association of peoples." In this struggle they serve not only the cause of their own liberation, but also the cause of the British workers, who are exploited and oppressed by the self-same gang of capitalist bandits.

War Profits Spur Growth Of Billion-Dollar Firms

Remember way back when Roosevelt solemnly assured the American people that there would be no new millionaires created in this war. We found the chore of counting up the new millionaires too extensive for our modest research facilities, so we concentrated on the "billion-dollar babies", as the giants of corporate monopoly are termed.

According to the latest compilation of figures, issued by the United Press, war profiteering has been on such a stupendous scale that the nation is now "blessed" with 41 billion or multi-billioned dollar corporations, instead of the 32 in existence just before Pearl Harbor.

Revealing the predominant control of finance capital in this epoch of the highest stage of capitalist monopoly, 17 of these tremendous aggregates of wealth are banks and 8 are insurance companies. These are owned and controlled by not more than 200 individuals, representing America's Sixty Richest Families, and their financial tentacles extend into every major corporation in the country.

America's wealthiest corporation is the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, with net assets of $6,463,803,552. The Ford Motor Company has emerged into the billion-dollar class and is now worth $1,099,092,488, although the private Ford fortune has long been reputed more than a billion because of other extensive holdings.

In the one year 1943, the assets of these 41 billion-dollar corporations increased from $82,830,994,287 to $91,504,426,132. This $8 billion gain is sufficient to keep America's Sixty Families and all their heirs in opulent luxury. They own between them about one-fourth of the total wealth of the country, and most of its productive facilities and resources. Never has monopoly capital flourished so well as under Roosevelt and his "War Deal."

Wages Face 25% Slash At End Of War With Germany

Workers wages will be sliced as much as $30 billion with the end of the war in Europe, an OPA report submitted to Roosevelt recently predicted.

This tremendous slash in income will be the result of several factors; mass unemployment, wide-spread reclassifications to lower paying jobs on civilian production, elimination of overtime pay and reduction of working hours.

At the same time, the report pointed out, unit costs of production will continue to decline, and profits for the biggest producers will go upward because of increased productive efficiency and reduced labor costs.

The OPA report predicts a minimum decline of 10 per cent in employment on conclusion of military hostilities in Europe, largely among the higher paid workers in war industries.

With a return to a 40-hour week — or less — and the elimination of overtime pay rates, the average full-time worker will receive a 25 per cent cut in "take home" pay each week.

The shift from military to civilian production will be accompanied, according to the OPA findings, by a general employer policy of reducing higher-paid workers to lower pay jobs.

The drastic reduction that will take place in the total purchasing power of the workers will be so great that it would require no less than a general 25 per cent increase in hourly wage rates to maintain the present money total of wages, even if there were to be no extensive unemployment.

Wall Streeters Take Over Key Government Positions

So gigantic are the imperialist stakes in this war, that Big Business no longer dares to entrust the affairs of its government solely to mere political hirelings. More and more, the key posts of government and the war agencies are placed in the hands of Wall Street men and their direct business agents.

Roosevelt's cabinet, for example, is composed predominantly of Wall Street bankers, stockjobbers and legal representatives of the biggest financial interests.

Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson is head of the Wall Street law firm of Stimson and Winthrop, long the agents for the Morgan interests. His Undersecretary is Robert Patterson, of the Wall Street law firm of Root, Clark, Buckner and Howland. Henry S. Morgan, a son of the late J. P. Morgan, and F. Trubee Davidson, brother of one of the J. P. Morgan and Company partners, are in the top councils of the War Department.

Secretary of State Cordell Hull stems from southern railway interests, including the old Louisville and Nashville gang that gave him his big start. His Undersecretary is the Morgan agent, Edward R. Stettinius, former head of U. S. Steel.

James V. Forrestal, representative of the leading investment bankers, Dillon, Read and Company, is Secretary of Navy. His assistants include Artemus Gates, of the Morgan-controlled New York Trust Company, and Ralph Bard, Chicago investment banker.

Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morganthau, Jr., is a member of a family which made a huge fortune as Wall Street legal agents and investment brokers. Jesse Jones, Secretary of Commerce and the man who dishes out the billions of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, is a big Texas banker with close connections with northern banking interests.

Attorney General Francis Biddle is a scion of Philadelphia's wealthiest family, the famous Chestnut Street Biddles, who dominate the financial and industrial scene of America's third largest city.

The list could be extended at length, from Nelson Rockefeller, Standard Oil's representative on the committee for Latin American relations, to Donald Nelson, former chief executive for the great mail-order firm of Sears, Roebuck and Company. Today, Big Business not only controls the government; it has moved in to take direct and personal charge.